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U.S. Develops New Nuclear Missile Warhead

LD1309081688 Moscow TASS in English 0643 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 13 TASS—The Pentagon officially admitted Monday that the U.S. had started the development of a new type of nuclear missiles with "penetrating" warheads. Research into a possibility of creating such warheads specially for the hitting of underground targets was conducted for several years by the U.S. Department of Energy which is in charge of the creation of nuclear weapons. On the basis of the research finds the Pentagon's Council for Military Purchases recommended on August 19 that the development of the new warhead be started.

First Pershing-2 Missiles Withdrawn From FRG

LD1209155488 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Bonn September 12 TASS—The first batch of U.S. intermediate-range Pershing-2's, which was withdrawn from the American missile base Waldheide outside Heilbronn September 1, today left the territory of West Germany altogether.

The disassembled missiles, including first and second stages and guidance and control systems, were dispatched from the U.S. air base Ramstein by a military transport plane to the United States where they are to be destroyed at special facilities in Texas and Colorado.

The nuclear-tipped Pershing-2's and cruises yet remaining in this country are to be withdrawn from their bases and eliminated within the next three years.

PRAVDA on Pershing Destruction at Longhorn

PM1209141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch under the rubric "At the Scene": "Thus Is History Made"]

[Text] Karnack, Texas, 9 Sep—People carrying banners were visible standing right up against the barbed-wire fence even on the approach to the Longhorn munitions plant in the tiny hamlet of Karnack. One banner read in Russian: "Welcome, Peace, and Friendship!" That was how the morning of 8 September in this remote Texan town began for three Soviet journalists.

After obtaining our special press passes, we set off in a bus deep into the installation. The grandstands were already full and television people were busy setting up camera positions. Everyone was looking either at their watches or at the patch of land that had been cleared of trees not far away. It was there that the two Pershing-2 and Pershing-1A first stages were to be destroyed. The United States would thereby embark on the practical implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, joining the Soviet Union, which has already taken such a step....

We were shown the dark green cylinders shortly before the destruction procedure. Contained in a special steel and concrete structure, they made a gloomy impression. These dealers of death, now shackled, made the blood run cold. "I am glad to witness the first in a series of historic and important steps in the direction of peace and the improvement of relations with the USSR. We have been preparing for this for 75 days," Lieutenant Colonel A. Germaine, chief of the plant, said....

With the arrival of U.S. Vice President G. Bush, preparations began for the destruction of the missile stages using the static firing method. In ordinary language this means that the missile engines burn off their fuel. The Pershing-2 engine was fired at exactly 1000 in the morning on a command from the control panel. A tongue of flame leapt out, shaking the ground with a roar that could be heard all around. A short silence fell, broken by applause, 62 seconds later. At 1015 it was the turn of the Pershing-1A stage, and again the ground shook from the roaring flame. It was all over 45 seconds later.

Or rather, it was all just beginning—our two countries have now embarked on the path not of limiting but of actually destroying terrible weapons. The happiness of those who were assembled when a mini-transporter took the burned-out Pershing-2 casing to the scrapping device and a powerful press turned it into a heap of broken metal, was a sight to behold....

I asked General R. Lajoie, director of the U.S. On-Site Inspection Agency, whether he—as a military man who has devoted his life to the service of arms—was sorry to see them destroyed. "No, I'm not," the general replied. "My reaction was purely positive."

General F. Partlou, who represented the Joint Chiefs at the talks on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, said that he felt optimistic about a further agreement. "This is the main task, and our representatives in Geneva together with their Soviet colleagues are working hard on a strategic arms reduction treaty," he said. "I think that it will ultimately be possible. In my opinion, arms control provides hope for establishing arms levels which will correspond to the task of ensuring a more peaceful future for all mankind...."

There were many such statements. Probably only Vice President Bush's remarks struck a clearly discordant note. Answering a journalist's question in passing, the Republican presidential hopeful denied that his trip to the plant was linked to the election campaign. "It is about international peace. This is a great day," he said. However, in his speech Bush constantly stressed the long-discredited, bankrupt principle of talks from a "position of strength."

Before leaving the plant we talked with N. Shebalin, deputy chief of the USSR National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, who was one of the 12 Soviet inspectors attending the missile stage destruction. He noted that both sides had approached the task of implementing the agreement very responsibly.

Thus, through the joint efforts of the partners a start has been made in the most important task of ridding people of the fear of nuclear war. "This is a giant step toward peace. I hope that someday we will open a history book and the first page will be entitled 'Worldwide Peace.' Perhaps this first page is being written right now," K. Piaz, representative of the U.S. On-Site Inspection Agency, said in his farewell to us. Fine words.

Bush Comments on Disarmament at Longhorn
PM1209112388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS special correspondent I. Borisenko report "especially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "Pershings on the Block"]

[Excerpts] Marshall, Texas—...Passing the small Texan town of Marshall, the narrow asphalt highway leads directly to the concrete control point at the Army's Longhorn munitions plant. Soviet journalists are barred from this enterprise—and, incidentally, from all other similar installations—but 8 September was a special day at Longhorn: The process of eliminating U.S. Pershing intermediate-range missiles started there. They are being destroyed in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. [passage omitted]

Addressing those present, U.S. Vice President G. Bush, who was attending the missile destruction ceremony, stated: "This is a great day. I want to thank the people of Marshall and the surrounding area for the hospitality they have shown our Soviet guests. I think this is proof of how Americans relate to today's event. We will be destroying an entire class of nuclear missiles, and references to intermediate-range missiles will be left only in history books." "Today," he continued, "is a day that will be remembered as the start of the process of eliminating tools of destruction. On this day both great powers are starting to move toward a safer and more peaceful world." However, the vice president's speech again contained the idea of the need to pursue "policy from a position of strength" and to continue the course of modernizing the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

General Roland Lajoie, director of the Defense Department's On-Site Inspection Agency, recalled that he had recently attended the missile elimination process in the USSR. "The implementation of the provisions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will lead to broader contacts, better mutual understanding, and, I hope, greater trust in U.S.-Soviet relations," he noted. [passage omitted]

"The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington by the leaders of our two states has entered a new phase of its practical implementation," Colonel N. Shabalin, deputy chief of the Soviet Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, stated in a talk with journalists. "Today we have witnessed a portentous event—the start of the elimination of U.S. missiles covered by the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The echo of the explosion at Saryozek, heard in our country 1 August this year when the elimination of Soviet missiles began, has reached the United States." "In terms of the scale of the elimination of armaments and the extent of the verification, this is the first time such a measure has been carried out in the world," the Soviet representative noted. "It sets a historic precedent."

"I am happy that from the technical viewpoint the elimination process has gone according to plan," Gen R. Lajoie stated in a talk with this TASS correspondent. "I feel pleased. My impressions are in no way the same as those of a soldier seeing his weapons being destroyed." "The elimination of the missiles is the result of the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles," General F. Partlou noted in turn. "My colleagues in Geneva are currently working on a broader agreement on strategic offensive arms. We hope that it will prove possible to work out such an agreement." [passage omitted]

Progress Noted at Geneva Strategic Arms Talks
PM1209134788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Documents Being Discussed"]

[Text] Geneva, 10 Sep—In the course of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space arms, work was carried out over the past week in the strategic offensive arms group on updating the joint draft documents (a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, a memorandum of understanding on data, an inspection protocol, a conversion or elimination protocol) with regard to the progress made in certain spheres.

It should be pointed out that, as a result of the proposals made by the Soviet side during the current round, tangible progress has been made in agreeing on questions relating to an inspection protocol. Progress has also been made in work to eliminate the parentheses in the conversion or elimination protocol. Questions of the verification of ICBM mobile launchers and of restrictions on long-range air-launched cruise missiles and heavy bombers are still at the stage of active study.

The Soviet side has made constructive new proposals aimed at agreeing on definitions of SLBM's and their launchers.

Verification Commission Meets in Geneva
LD1209143388 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Geneva September 12 TASS—The Soviet-American special verification commission formed under the INF Treaty opened its second meeting here today.

U.S., Soviet Differences on ABM Treaty Viewed
PM1209140988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Lieutenant General V. Starodubov "International Notes": "What Will Happen to the ABM Treaty?"]

[Text] Over the last few days of August talks were held in Geneva between Soviet and U.S. representatives on the latest (quinquennial) examination of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the limitation of antimissile defense systems (the ABM Treaty).

Whereas in 1977 and 1982 at the conclusion of similar talks, the sides unanimously reaffirmed their adherence to the goals and tasks of the ABM Treaty, this time they issued different statements. One of them, the Soviet statement, was aimed, as before, at the retention and unswerving observance of the treaty; the other statement, that of the United States, was essentially aimed at acquiring the "right" to continue activity in the ABM field that goes beyond the treaty framework, and at justifying its destructive line at the strategic arms limitation talks.

What caused such a radical change in the U.S. side's attitude toward this fundamental document in the process of curbing the arms race?

First and foremost, we should cite the adoption by the current U.S. Administration in 1983 of the "Star Wars" program, otherwise called the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI). As is well known, this initiative supplemented the "comprehensive strategic program" announced by the U.S. President in October 1981, which envisaged giving all types of U.S. strategic offensive arms the capability to be used in a "devastating" first strike. Both programs are being implemented.

In order to remove the obstacles to building up strategic offensive arms, the United States finally abandoned its commitments under the SALT II Treaty in late 1986. Now it is the turn of the ABM Treaty, which has been hampering the implementation of the SDI program. Incidentally, the United States had interpreted its commitments under this document very freely even prior to this.

Back in 1975 the Soviet side was forced to raise the issue of the deployment in the United States at the Otis, Massachusetts and Beale, California bases of the large new "Pave Paws" phased-array radars, whose characteristics are virtually identical to those of the U.S. "Par" ABM radar installed at the Grand Forks base. Disregarding the Soviet side's concern, the United States has begun to build another two such radar sites on its territory.

However, the matter has not ended here. In late 1986-early 1987 the Americans finished construction and added to the existing stations a "Pave Paws" radar outside the United States—in the village of Thule (Greenland). The deployment of this radar was by no means a covert violation of the ABM Treaty, which authorizes the construction of "large phased-array radars" only in areas especially stipulated by agreed statement "F" and to be more precise: along the periphery of its own territory (oriented outward), at agreed testing ranges, or in the authorized limited ABM deployment area.

The thesis used as a justification that a new radar has not been deployed in Thule but only an old one that has been modernized is not for the specialists. It does not hold water either from the juridical or from the factual viewpoints.

First, hardly anyone would take seriously an attempt to pass off as modernization the complete replacement of five old radars with the parabolic antennae of one new "large phased-array radar." This is like claiming that a 100-horsepower engine is the modernization of 100 horses.

Second, the very fact that the "modernization" thesis has been used as a justification attests instead to an intention to divert public attention from the crux of the violation. It is a matter of indifference for lawyers as to the description given to the appearance of a large phased-array radar in a region where, according to the terms of the ABM Treaty, there should be no such station. The fact that the new large phased-array radar appeared there is important. This fact indicates a violation.

The Americans have now begun to build yet another large phased-array radar, this time at Fylingdales (Britain). Yet another clause of the treaty will appear on the list of violations in connection with previously deployed large radars. With its omnidirectional illumination, the station at Fylingdales will be oriented toward the USSR's territory and this is prohibited under the treaty.

Agreed Statement "F," as is well known, makes exceptions for radars that are deployed "to track objects in outer space" or "as national technical means of verification"—deployment areas are not limited for such stations. However, this does not apply to the new radars at Thule or Fylingdales—they are officially proclaimed stations for early warning of missile attacks.

Everything that has been said concerning the U.S. side's activity in the sphere of large radar is not merely a pro forma violation of the spirit or letter of the treaty. The suspicion arises that the United States has already begun

to create an ABM base for the defense of the country's territory banned under an article of the first treaty. If these actions are compared with the SDI program, they would rank precisely among the first phase in the creation of large-scale ABM—its surface echelon.

Washington is faced with a dilemma: whether to observe the ABM Treaty or to abandon its plans to create large-scale ABM for the country. Incidentally, these are not our conclusions—the U.S. side has said this frankly on many occasions at various levels. This dilemma was indisputably also reflected in the course of the talks on the examination of the ABM Treaty.

It is easy to realize that the question of withdrawing from the ABM Treaty (or of switching to a "broad interpretation" of it, which is virtually equivalent to withdrawing from the treaty) is not so simple. The United States would hardly acquire political credit for this. That is why the administration, while making its plans, is not averse to presenting the Soviet side as the guilty party with regard to this development of events.

Of what does the USSR stand accused? The main charge is the construction of a large phased-array radar in the Krasnoyarsk area. In some cases, when the "Star Wars" program is being justified, people say that the USSR is allegedly implementing its own SDI. In other cases, for instance at the Geneva talks, people stress the fact of its complete "violation"—they say that a radar for warning of missile attacks is deployed in a region that is not on the periphery of the country and is not oriented outside its territory as provided for by the treaty. All this would be well-founded if the radar under construction was a warning station. However, it is a station monitoring space, and this fundamentally changes things—such stations are not limited by the treaty, as has already been mentioned.

The purpose of the U.S. position at the talks to examine the ABM Treaty becomes increasingly clear if it is correlated with the attitude toward the claims made by the Soviet side.

The statement made by the U.S. delegation 1 September this year and the U.S. President's yearly reports published previously for the Congress not only do not investigate the appropriate violations but do not even mention the complaints that the Soviet side has made over a number of years. The question arises—does the Congress know about U.S. violations at all?

The Soviet side has advocated continuing efforts to seek principled solutions that would remove the sides' complaints against each another, including by the proposed radical solutions. These efforts could also be continued at the next session of the Soviet-U.S. Standing Consultative Commission and in the course of the upcoming meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state.

The ABM Treaty must be retained.

U.S. Charges on Krasnoyarsk Station Denied

OW1309043688 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 11 Sep 88

[From the "Siberian Tour" program]

[Text] During the Geneva meeting between the United States and the USSR on the validity of the ABM limitation treaty, the U.S. delegation asserted that, as long as the radar station near Krasnoyarsk is not dimantled, an agreement on strategic and space weapons is impossible. Despite Soviet explanations that the task of the station is to track objects in space and to control space (?communications), the United States insisted on its position.

U.S. experts, who visited the station in September last year, were convinced by the Soviet explanation. These experts concluded that: At this point, we are convinced that the station does not violate the ABM limitation treaty. There is also very little possibility that the station in Krasnoyarsk will be used as a radar site. To this, we must add that construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar station is still incomplete.

During talks between General Secretary Gorbachev and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, Gorbachev stated that the USSR would unilaterally freeze all operations at the Krasnoyarsk station. The Soviet delegation to the Geneva meeting also indicated the USSR's willingness to dismantle the station's facilities. However, the USSR insisted on the condition that there must be an agreement on observing the ABM limitation treaty signed in 1972.

At this time, when the Soviet Union is in the process of destroying its long- and short-range IRBM's, operations to dismantle RSD-10's, known as SS-20's in the West, have started near Chita city, in the southern part of eastern Siberia in late August.

Gerasimov Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 12 Sep

Denies Syria Base; Views Estonia

LD1209141988 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes the results of the just-ended conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said here today.

Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents.

"The forum in Nicosia has borne out that the Non-aligned Movement is one of the more authoritative political movements of the times," he said.

"It has affirmed itself as a viable alternative to the policy of blocs. The final documents of the conference, including the Nicosia declaration, meet the requirements of the times and testify to the movement's desire to continue being actively involved in world affairs."

Commenting on the claim made by U.S. Vice-President George Bush at an annual session of the American Legion that the Soviet Union allegedly has a military base in Syria, the spokesman said the information is not true and this has been pointed out at news briefings more than once.

"As far as Syria is concerned, Soviet ships call at the port of Tartus for small-scale repairs and for victuals. We have a floating repair shop, temorary wharf, parking lot and storage area in the port.

"The main thing is, however, that the Soviet Union does not have any warships in the port on a permanent basis," Gerasimov stressed.

Commenting on a recent visit by Lord Plumb, president of the European Parliament, to the USSR, he said: "The Soviet Union is prepared to develop ties with the Europarliament in every area and unequivocally recognizes the importance and utility of such contacts both in terms of mutually advantageous exchanges of views and information and from the standpoint of fostering a political atmosphere felicitous for furthering interparliamentary dialogue on the key issues of European policy."

Answering a query from a reporter, Gerasimov said an event called "Estonian Song'88" took place on the singers' field in Tallinn, Estonia, on September 11.

Sponsored by the provisional organizing committee of the Popular Front and the Estonian Temperance Society, it was attended by more than 200,000 people from came [as received] there from all over Estonia to hear patriotic national songs sung by choirs and other performing groups as well as speeches by well-known politicans of that Baltic republic, the spokesman said.

He said that Estonian national symbols were in evidence and that people also were holding streamers and posters demanding that Estonian [as received] be declared the republic's state language and that citizenship of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic be instituted and supporting a scheme under which the republic will go on a full-scale self-accounting economic basis.

The festival was attended during its first part by Vajno Vaelaes, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia.

Pakistani Statements Unfounded

LD1209135588 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The Pakistani side's unfounded and irresponsible statements concerning Afghanistan are obviously designed to justify Pakistan's growing interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today.

He said that the charge d'affaires ad interim of Pakistan had been twice summoned to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in view of recent accusations levelled at the Afghan Air Force about ostensible violations of the Pakistani border and bombing of Pakistani villages, and that protests had been lodged with him in a categorical form in connection with hostile actions of the Pakistani side.

In the Afghan Foreign Ministry's note addressed to the U.N. Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistani (UNGOMAP), the Afghani side refuted and rejected all accusations by Pakistan and came forward with the idea of establishing a special commission from among representatives of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and UNGOMAP for specific inquiry into and examination of instances of violations if there were any.

Protest notes were handed over to the charge d'affaires ad interim of Pakistan to Afghanistan in connection with intrusions by reconnaissance aircraft of the Pakistani Air Force into the air space of the Republic of Afghanistan in the area of Asmara and a number of areas of Kunar Province.

The Pakistani authorities continue to help armed opposition groups operating in the green zone of Charikar. An armed group led by Khan Mohammad crossed the border from Miramshah (Pakistan) into Khowst District. It

has also been noted that 'caravans of terror' with arms and ammunition have crossed into Afghanistan from Pakistan in Badghis, Herat, Ghowr and Parwan Provinces.

Pakistan's 'False Charges'

LD1309141588 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—"Pakistan is whipping up passions by advancing false charges against the Republic of Afghanistan," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

As an example of Pakistan's actions, he cited a letter by the Pakistani permanent representative to the United Nations, Sardar Shahnawaz, which enumerated "facts" of the Afghan side's violations of Pakistan's territorial integrity.

The letter claimed that Afghan planes bombed Pakistani villages and there was an unprovoked shelling of the Pakistani border town of Chaman and nearby villages.

To impart semblance to the obvious concoction, Gerasimov said, the letter named individuals and objects that were allegedly affected by the Afghan military activity.

The Pakistani authorities kept silent, however, (and this silence was quite eloquent, Gerasimov observed) with regard to the proposals for conducting an independent international inquiry into these claims.

"The proposed international commission would undoubtedly try and find out the truth and reject the assertions," he said. "The true aim of Pakistan's allegations is to set up a smoke screen to cover up interference in internal Afghan affairs."

Terrorist actions staged by Afghan civilians, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out.

The latest example of these criminal activity was the detonation of a booby-trapped vehicle in downtown Kabul, which killed 13 and maimed more than 40 people.

Shevardnadze To Attend UN Meeting

LD1209144088 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the USSR has confirmed the appointment of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, to be the head of the USSR delegation to the 43rd session of the United Nations General Assembly which opens on September 20, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists today.

Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, was appointed deputy head of the USSR delegation. Aleksey Belonogov, permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations, Vladislovas Mikuaciauskas, minister of foreign affairs of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, and Richard Ovinnikov, rector of the Moscow State Institute for International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were appointed members of the delegation, the spokesman said.

The Councils of Ministers of the Ukrainian and Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republics endorsed the compositions of their delegations to the forthcoming session of the U.N. General Assembly. Vladimir Kravets, minister of foreign affairs of the Ukraine, was appointed the leader of the republic's delegation. The Belorussian delegation will be headed by Anatoliy Gurinovich, the republic's minister of foreign affairs.

The spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs also said that matters concerning arms limitation and disarmament, regional and humanitarian problems, and bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations within the context of the accords reached at the summit meeting in Moscow would be discussed during forthcoming talks in Washington between Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

"The Soviet side hopes," Gennadiy Gerasimov pointed out, "that the forthcoming talks will be a new step in the business of carrying on the constructive political dialogue in the interests of strengthening peace and security, improving relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and settling international problems".

Views Joint Verification, Relations

LD1309135388 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 13 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will pay a working visit to Denmark at the invitation of its government from September 20 to 21, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman announced here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists that the second stage of the Soviet-American joint verification experiment would be held at the Semipalatinsk test site on Wednesday.

A big group of American experts were already there. Together with Soviet colleagues they would measure the yield of a nuclear explosion, he said.

"This will conclude a joint operation on improving measures to verify compliance with the 1974 treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear explosions," Gerasimov pointed out.

The ministry spokesman disclosed that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh received on Monday Canada's Deputy Foreign Minister Jacques Roy who was heading the Canadian delegation to the 7th session of the Soviet-Canadian mixed commission for economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation.

On the same day, the first round of Soviet-West German talks was held in Moscow on elaborating an agreement between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany on the prompt notification of a nuclear accident and the exchange of information about nuclear installations, Gerasimov said.

'International Situation' Views CIA Activity

LD1209212688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 9 Sep 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program with commentator Konstantin Patsyuk; Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, chief editor of the MILITARY-HISTORICAL journal; Vasiliy Lesovik, correspondent in Poland; commentator Vyacheslav Lavrentyev; special correspondent Yuriy Isayev; and Viktor Levin, not further identified]

[Excerpts] [Patsyuk] Hello, esteemed comrades. We now begin the program which, as always, is compiled on the basis of radio listeners' letters. Many letters have come in in response to one of our broadcasts in which Colonel Viktor Ivanovich Filatov spoke about events in Afghanistan. In particular, teacher Nina Valeriyevna Konovalova from Ulyanovsk and war and labor veteran Vladimir Muratovich Aguzarov from Kislovodsk have written in to us, and one of the mothers of a serviceman who died in Afghanistan—for some reason she asks that we should not give her surname, but she lives in Kramatorsk, as well as others. All of them were deeply moved by the talk about Afghanistan, about the fate of our lads who were taken prisoner and about the quality of our combat technology and weapons. We have once again invited Viktor Ivanovich Filatov to take part in the broadcast. At present he is the chief editor of the MILITARY-HISTORICAL journal. Over to you:

[Filatov] Konstantin Nikolayevich, such letters come not only to you in the editorial office but also to me personally. Here's one of them: Ivan Vasiliyevich Makarov from Omsk writes. He was a participant in the Great Patriotic War and an international affairs lecturer. During "International Situation—Questions and Answers" program on a Friday either at the end or at the beginning of August, writes Comrade Makarov, Colonel Filatov, answering a question, said in particular that defective weapons were delivered to Afghanistan from the USSR. He cites the example that out of five aerial bombs dropped on the rebels, three to four did not go off. And our soldiers were taken prisoner because of a lack of discipline. Is this true? Incidentally we have received letters with the same content and we have answered them. I think that there is a point in returning once again to this subject.

It's not so simple to answer a letter, Ivan Vasiliyevich. I confirm that everything which you heard is true. I talked both about bombs and about our prisoners in Afghanistan. In addition, the miltiary ought to draw lessons from every war and from every battle, otherwise we will always have the sudden, the unexpected, the unforeseen and so on. During combat actions both combat technology and weapons were of course perfected. Education work with personnel was also reshaped. In which direction? Mainly, as is said in Afghanistan, combat alertness [nastorozhonnost] was fostered. The trouble is that in recent time we have become too careless [bespechnymi], too lacking in zest [razmagnichny]. Some of us have come close to a sort of pacifism and I am glad when I see judo and sambo, boxing and heavy athlectics sections sprouting up like mushrooms throughout the country, because sport, apart from anything else, is the greatest educator of self-discipline. Such a person will not disobey a commander. Such a person will defend himself. Such a person will not be taken prisoner.

But let's all the same return to the international affairs lecturer's letter. What else runs through it? In some incomprehensible way what he himself heard has suddenly turned into a rumor for him, otherwise why should he ask again whether it is true? Rumors today, as in olden times,, are starting it seems to turn into a real problem. A friend reports that at one time Rashidov presented as a gift to Churbanov a robe [khalat] worth 120,000 [currency not specified]. Talking to the deputy general prosecutor, I ask by the way about the robe worth 120,000. He answers: It's the first time I've heard that, although I'm conducting his case.

And how many rumors and false interpretations were there, for example, around Decree No 227, known among the people as Stalin's decree on not a step backwards. Our journal published this decree in full in August and there and then the unhealthy interest in it vanished. Suddenly the news started to talk about a new decree—No 270. Incidentally, it is about prisoners. And immediately a journalist colleague phones me and asks: Is it true that familes of soldiers who were taken prisoner were repressed and even shot? I ask: Where on earth did you get such gibberish from? He answers: They've also plagued the life out of me with this question. We decided to publish this decree too, in full, in the MILITARY-HISTORICAL journal. Readers will be able to read it this month in issue No 9.

[Patsyuk] Incidentally, while we're on the subject of your MILITARY-HISTORICAL journal, as far as I know there is still time to subscribe to it—is that so?

[Filatov] Yes, there is still time to subscribe to it. Still, returning to our subject: The ancients were correct in saying: When witnesses are silent legends are born. The word polochnyye [adjective from polka meaning shelf] has gone into use. I have in mind films that are made but not shown; also books which were written but which were nonetheless not published. Now we are watching these films. Now we are also reading these novels. From its 10th issue onwards our MILITARY-HISTORICAL journal is introducing a new rubric.

[Patsyuk] More details please, Viktor Ivanovich.

[Filatov] The rubric is entitled: Lift the Seal of Secrecy [grif sekretnosti snyat]. This rubric is opened by a book by Colonel-General Leonid Mikhaylovich Sandalov. It probably makes sense to say a few words about the author himself. In July 1941 he was appointed chief of the Tsentralnyy staff and later the Bryanskiy of the second Baltic and fourth Ukrainian fronts. On the day the war began Sandalov held the post of chief of staff of the 4th Army, which was stationed in Brest and its environs. After the war, hot on its heels, he wrote a book which was secret for many years. Only students at our academies used it.

[Patsyuk] And thus the seal of secrecy was lifted from it. And it is only from this book?

[Filatov] No, not just this one, but also from many other books and documents; they will appear in 1989 on the pages of our MILITARY-HISTORICAL journal. This will be our contribution to the removal of so-called blank spots from the initial period of the war.

[Patsyuk] Will you have any other new rubrics?

[Filatov] Yes, in particular, the following: In the Armies of NATO Countries. With the 10th issue we are beginning the publication of an article from an FRG military-historical journal. The name itself says what it is about and the article is called: "We, With Foreign Eyes." The article is about our actions against the Wehrmacht during the years of the war and about interesting appraisals which are given by Western generals of our military leaders and soldiers. We think this will add to our reader's knowledge of the war and our victory over fascism. We have also introduced the rubric: In the Armies of Socialist Countries.

[Patsyuk] As far as I know, great changes are occurring today in the armies of the socialist countries.

[Filatov] Quite right, Konstantin Nikolayevich. We have, for example, prepared a selection of material about the problems besetting the Yugoslav People's Army. In some ways they are similar to the ones that we are trying to resolve; in other ways there are differences. For instance, not so long ago, the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Yugoslav Military Council [Yugoslavskiy Voyennyy Sovet] expressed concern over the fact that the attacks of one section of the Slovene press on the Yugoslav Army formed part of a special war against Yugoslavia and its Army. What is more, in the case in question, the journalists were just acting on instructions, and Joze Smole, president of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, roundly condemned as crude and uncivilized the attempts to stir up anti-Army sentiments and any semblance of a malevolent mood. Despite the fact that it is a matter of isolated excesses, they must be nipped in the bud. In this connection, it was even, at one particular moment, a matter of the unity of the Army. Here are the words of Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, spoken at a conference of the organization of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army: "The Army must continue to develop its popular and all-Yugoslav character. Efforts not only of its servicemen, but of all the progressive forces in Yugoslav society too are required for this purpose."

[Patsyuk] And the last question for you, Viktor Ivanovich. A listener in Kramatorsk—I mentioned her earlier—wonders when an edition of the journal devoted entirely to Afghanistan will appear.

[Filatov] We are now working on it. We plan that it will be the fourth or fifth edition for next year.

[Patsyuk] Thank you, Viktor Ivanovich. [passage omitted in which Patsyuk gives a factual run down on the way Yugoslavia is divided into republics and on how they are administered, going on to talk about the backwardness of Kosovo region, noting that it is populated by many different nationalities and that there has been conflict in the area caused by extremists who adopt nationalist positions. Patsyuk introduces Poland correspondent Vasiliy Lesovik who looks back over the last decade, noting how Poland accumulated massive foreign debts, how the West used embargoes to try to bring down the political system in Poland and how the Polish leadership learnt its lesson and subsequently switched to greater cooperation with socialist countries. Commentator Vyacheslav Lavrentyev provides an answer to questions about the present day situation in Chile]

We received this letter from Comrade Nikolay Kuzmich (Makarov), a war veteran and pensioner in Kursk. Here's an extract from the letter: I try to follow world events attentively and your program helps me to do that. There is now a tense situation in Central America—around Panama and Nicaragua. Could you please provide more detail about the activities of the so-called knights of the cloak and dagger—the CIA's agents—against the governments of those countries and of other countries in Latin America?

I have asked our special correspondent Yuriy Isayev, who worked for many years in Latin American countries, to answer the letter.

[Isayev] Dear Nikolay Kuzmich. The activities of the Central Intelligence Ageny in Latin America are marked by extreme vigor and a variety of forms—from mere eavesdropping to the assassination of awkward heads of state. I shall try to list the CIA's most extensive actions Nicaragua. To start with, just a brief quotation. It comes from one of the leaders of that espionage department. "Yes, the war is going on and will go on until such time as we accomplish the tasks assigned to us: The overthrow of the Sandinist government of Nicaragua and the country's return to its U.S. orbit." That cynical statement was made by William Casey, the late head of the CIA.

As is known, immediately after the triumph of the Sandinist revolution, military camps for the contras were set up on the territory of Honduras. There, CIA agents used to train, and still are training, the Somozist rabble and mercenaries. It is known that, in 1981 and 1982, the CIA allocated from the special funds $50 million each year to covert operations. The CIA's first major operation in Nicaragua was given the name Black Moon. The essence of it was as follows. The contras had to capture a small town, a settlement, a village, and to hold on to them for a while so that a provisional government formed from contra ringleaders could be set up in the so-called liberated territories of Nicaragua during that time, a government which was then to seek help from a friendly state—the United States, that is.

An intervention was then intended to begin. But the plan fell through. This was succeeded by operation Red Christmas. It provided for diversions, sabotage, political assassinations and also the secession from Nicaragua of the territory occupied by the Miskito Indians. But that plan failed too. The Indians did not wish to secede and certainly had no desire to fight against the popular government. CIA provocations were staged both on land and at sea. In 1983, a pipeline was blown up in the port of Sandino. In October that year, saboteurs raided an oil storage depot in Corinto. Then the mining of all Nicaraguan ports began. Ths ships of many countries fell victim to this. Ten trawlers hit mines, including our tanker "Lugansk." The CIA also carried out a number of provocations in the air. Thus, on 8 September 1983, Managua's international airport came under bombardment. Spy planes constantly violate Nicaraguan airspace, and U.S. pilots drop arms to the contras. An undeclared war is taking place and the CIA has already worked out possible U.S. losses resulting from an intervention. Here are the figures: 4,783 dead and 18,600 wounded. Two hundred helicopters and 18 aircraft would be lost, while the overall cost of aggresion would amount to $6 billion.

The same methods are employed by the CIA against Panama too, although on a different, more modest scale. Today there are documents confirming CIA involvement in the killing of Panama's General Torrijos. That operation was called Flying Hawk. The Americans bribed one of the bodyguards and he carried on board the presidential plane a tape recorded in which an explosive device had been planted. Thus, on 31 July 1981, the CIA settled its score with the troublesome Panamanian leader. Instances of provocations against General Noriega, who has no intention of following in the wake of U.S. policies, are also known.

The invasion of Grenada in 1983 was also the doing of the CIA, whose agents gave short shrift to Prime Minister Bishop and then created conditions for an intervention. One of the U.S. troops in the landing party wrote in the newspaper DAILY WORLD, and I quote: There were hundreds of agents on the island. They directed our actions. The CIA informed us of the apartments in which communists were living and we wiped out anything there that was alive.

These are just a few examples of the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency in the countries of Latin America. [passage omitted in which Viktor Levin responds to a listener on living standards in the FRG]

European Parliament Head Pays Official Visit

Received by Gromyko

PM1209120188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Guest From the European Parliament"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko received Henry Plumb, president of the European Parliament, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, in the Kremlin 9 September.

At the beginning of the conversation the guest from Strasbourg France, where the headquarters of the European Parliament is located, noted that this is his first visit to the Soviet Union—which in itself heralds the beginning of new relations between the the European Parliament and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The aim of the visit is for him to acquaint himself with the changes taking place in the USSR under the banner of restructuring and also to establish contacts with the supreme organ of legislative power in the Soviet Union and to reach an accord on the development of ties with it. The program of the visit has been drawn up in such a way as to make it possible to resolve both these tasks. The guest, whose whole life has been connected with agriculture as head of the British National Farmers Union, then for many years as chairman of the Common Market agricultural organizations committee, and in the European Parliament as head of its agriculture committee prior to his election as president, was greatly impressed by a visit to the V.I. Lenin Kolkhoz in Moscow Oblast's Lyuberetskiy Rayon, which is working in the light of the new conditions and tasks.

H. Plumb dwelt on the work of the European Parliament and drew attention to the fact that there are areas in that organ's work which might be of mutual interest to that body and the USSR Supreme Soviet. Specifically, these

could include environmental protection, power industry problems, and especially nuclear power problems, and thermonuclear synthesis. The president of the European Parliament showed special interest in the implementation of the Food Program in the Soviet Union and expressed the wish to arrange a meeting of high-ranking experts with the participation of Soviet representatives to examine food problems.

A.A. Gromyko observed that it would be quite feasible to put this idea to use. The joint discussion of the most varied issues merits serious attention. The Soviet Union would like to develop ties with the European Parliament in all areas including those mentioned by the guest.

It may be that in the course of this work not everything will prove acceptable to both sides. It can logically be assumed that some differences of opinion may arise. However, even if just something is used, this will be a success. A number of solutions may prove mutually acceptable.

Drawing attention to the guest's, as it were, passing reference to the problem of environmental protection, A.A. Gromyko dwelt on this problem in greater detail. Unfortunately, in global terms, mankind is still not seriously attending to this problem. It is necessary to act and resolve major tasks on a planetary scale before, figuratively speaking, ecology grabs us by the throat.

As an example, he dwelt on the natural puzzles connected with the deterioration of climatic conditions in many parts of the earth. People are aware that many of the changes in the environment have been caused by man's activity, and in particular by the operation of enterprises which emit noxious substances into the atmosphere, soil, and water. However, the necessary means for facilitating a radical change for the better are not yet being applied. To this end it is also necessary to considerably step up international programs created at the level of authoritative interstate organizations and to sharply increase the attention focused on their implementation.

H. Plumb: You are quite right as regards this question. The problem of the pollution of the environment knows no frontiers. It can only be resolved by joint action.

A.A. Gromyko: You could facilitate the solution of this problem since a considerable number of states are represented in the European Parliament, including Europe's most influential states. The parliaments must appeal, to themselves and to people, with the urgency of an "SOS" signal.

In the course of the conversation both sides noted that the establishment of official relations between the CEMA and the EEC and the upcoming conclusion of an agreement between the EEC and the Soviet Union go beyond the trade and economic sphere in their importance and reflect the trend toward the intensification of international exchanges which is currently gathering momentum and increasingly gaining weight.

The president of the European Parliament noted that a debate will open in the near future in the European Parliament in connection with the establishment of official relations between the EEC and CEMA. Developing this idea, H. Plumb said that the European Parliament seeks, within the limits of its competence, to promote positive change in international affairs. These aims are served by the European Parliament's internal work, its broad external ties, and the participation of its deputies in international discussions.

In connection with the interest displayed by the guest in the problems of restructuring in the Soviet Union, A.A. Gromyko gave an account of current and future measures which are revolutionary in nature and whose aim it is to ensure a comprehensive and deep renewal of Soviet society and an acceleration of its socioeconomic development.

The ideas of restructuring are penetrating deeper and deeper into the Soviet people's consciousness. Our people are working actively to implement majestic, historic changes. They are convinced that they will succeed in resolving the tasks confronting them.

The transformations will unquestionably also broaden the Soviet Union's opportunities in the sphere of international ties, including ties with the countries forming the European Parliament. The USSR favors the expansion of contacts with these countries in trade, science, technology, culture, and other areas.

The interlocutors expressed satisfaction with the dialogue which is taking place between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the European Parliament. In the course of this dialogue, just as in other forms of contacts between European parliamentarians, an essentially parliamentarian dimension of the all-European process is being created. And the process itself could be described as one of the biggest new construction projects in Europe, in whose completion all the peoples of the continent have an interest. A.A. Gromyko proposed that a plan of contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the European Parliament be drawn up for the near future.

H. Plumb expressed support for this initiative.

During the conversation a number of other issues were also examined. At H. Plumb's request, the procedure governing the exercise of the Soviet citizens' right to emigrate from the USSR was explained to him.

The president of the European Parliament expressed appreciation for the meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of amicability and frankness.

'Broad' Ties Noted With Voss, Zhukov

OW1009134588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2055 GMT 7 Sep 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting with the president of the European Parliament, Lord Plumb, has been held at the USSR Supreme Soviet. [video shows Lord Plumb's delegation on left of screen holding talks across table with Soviet delegation, at the center of which sits A.E. Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, with Yu. A. Zhukov on his right] It was stressed during the discussion that the doors to broad cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the European Parliament are open.

The first visit of a president of the European Parliament to the USSR is in itself a fact that opens prospects for regular multilateral relations. Their development will be facilitated by the fact that official relations between the European Economic Community and CEMA have already been established.

Lord Plumb in turn assessed this event as one of the major events in the political life of Europe in recent times. He said he considers it a great personal honor to be visiting the Soviet Union and also supported broad cooperation between the European Parliament and the highest organ of state power of the USSR.

Meets CEMA Secretary

LD1009050088 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Prospects for cooperation between East and West European countries were discussed on Friday by President of the European Parliament Lord Plumb and CMEA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev. An official visit of Lord Plumb to Moscow ended on Friday. He was staying in Moscow from September 6 at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Vyacheslav Sychev recalled that last June representatives of CMEA and the EEC signed in Luxembourg a joint declaration on the establishment of official relations between CMEA and the EEC. "We are now interested in establishing concrete contacts with Common Market countries," he said. "A meeting of experts from both sides will apparently be held in October. They will outline most promising areas of cooperation".

Among the areas of cooperation with CMEA of most interest for the European Community Lord Plumb mentioned such areas as environment, energy development (particularly nuclear energetics—questions of reactor safety), agriculture. Lord Plumb noted that there was a surplus of food products in the CMEA countries. He said that on the other hand he was aware that there were problems with food supply for the population in the USSR. He expressed the opinion that there could be extremely fruitful cooperation in this area between the East and the West of Europe. Besides that, Lord Plumb said that the European Parliament was extremely interested in sustaining contacts on problems of the foreign policy and ensurance of human rights.

Dobrynin Talks With Guayanese, U.S. Visitors

PM1309090788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 10 September A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting with Cheddi Jagan, general secretary of the People's Progressive Party [PPP] of Guyana.

During the talks C. Jagan was briefed on the CPSU's activity in implementing the 19th party conference decisions and on the progress in restructuring in the USSR. For his part he spoke of the results of the recent 23d PPP Congress and of the tasks which the party is resolving in its work among Guyana's working people.

During a discussion of international problems C. Jagan voiced full support for the policy of new thinking being implemented by the CPSU and for the Soviet Union's efforts in ensuring world security and every people's right to a free sociopolitical choice.

C. Jagan asked for profound gratitude to be conveyed to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev for the warm congratulations in connection with his reelection to the post of PPP general secretary.

On the same day A.F. Dobrynin received E. Richardson, chairman of the UN Association of America, who has come to the USSR to participate in the international conference "The Future Role of the United Nations in an Interdependent World."

There was an exchange of opinions on questions of Soviet-U.S. relations, the contemporary international situation, and the activities of the United Nations Organizations [as published]. A.F. Dobrynin pointed to the United Nations' growing positive contribution to resolving global problems and settling regional conflicts and emphasized the great significance of support for UN activities on the part of the international public and, in particular, from national UN associations. The desire was expressed to further enhance the role of the United Nations and its efforts in ensuring a secure world for all countries and peoples.

Pugwash Roundtable on Movement's Role, SDI
PM1209114488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA Correspondent A. Ostalskiy report on "IZVESTIYA Roundtable" discussion by Francesco Calogero (Italy), general secretary of the Pugwash Movement; Richard Garwin (United States), government consultant; and Academician Roald Sagdeyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research: "Old Dogmas and the Quest for Truth"; date and place of roundtable not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] A major scientist is not only a brilliant specialist in his field of knowledge, but also a person with a broad outlook and a flexible way of thinking, a true intellectual who recognizes his responsibility to his contemporaries and descendants for what happens on earth. Does this idea correspond to the reality? To some extent this question can be answered by talking to participants in the international Pugwash Movement. Its latest conference, the 38th, took place in recent days in Dagomys, a suburb of Sochi. Today we give the floor to three of the participants—physicists with a worldwide reputation. They are Francesco Calogero (Italy), newly elected general secretary of the Pugwash Movement; Richard Garwin (United States), government consultant; and Academician Roald Sagdeyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Space Research. [passage omitted]

[Ostalskiy] Some people think that the Pugwash Movement, like all other movements of scientists for peace, is effectively useless and amounts merely to meetings, much-publicized statements, and useless talk. Can you refute this view?

[Garwin] I am convinced that Pugwash is still very useful. I will cite just two examples. About 5 years ago at one of our meetings the Dane Anders Boserup suddenly started talking about some kind of "defensive defense"—a military defense system incapable of attacking or seizing territory. To me, like many others, at the time this appeared very naive. But Pugwash took it seriously and organized some seminars. And now, you see, the academies and military scientific analysis centers of the world are seriously developing doctrines that will make it possible to defend a country or territory without threatening anyone. A second example—the discussion of the problem of nuclear weapons in Europe organized by scientists in Geneva. Scientists and military men from the USSR and the United States and also Western Europe took part in these seminars. And it proved possible to achieve considerable success, including the provision fo assistance in the attainment of the agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Why do people sometimes fail to understand the significance of the Pugwash Movement? Because it is not an organization that seeks a direct influence on public opinion or contact with it. The Pugwash members reach decisions, adopt recommendations, and then quietly bring them to the attention of their governments. This is done unofficially but regularly, although, of course, some governments listen to us more than others.

[Calogero] I would like to cite some examples too. First of all, on the problem of chemical weapons. The people taking part in seminars on this topic are mainly the same people who make recommendations to their governments and are present at official talks. But within the Pugwash framework, in a completely different atmosphere, they can speak far more freely and frankly. Pugwash paves the way for agreements between governments. A few years ago it was Pugwash members who were the first to visit a chemical weapons production enterprise in Eastern Europe (the GDR). At the time, it was a very important step towrad strengthening East-West trust.

[Sagdeyev] I think the negative view of the Pugwash Movement results from the lack of information about it. As a result the false impression can be created that the movement is only a channel for "quiet diplomacy." Indeed, it has played that important role. But all the same, this is not its only function. It has generated profound, far-reaching ideas on nuclear arms control. It was the Pugwash members who first suggested that the development of ABM defense is in reality very dangerous and could become a destabilizing factor and provoke the start of a war. Within the framework of the movement a thorough scientific analysis was prepared demonstrating the perniciousness of the combination of strategic defense and strategic offensive arms. One of the originators of the concept is here—Dick Garwin. The Pugwash members did this long before the governments thought of it. So the conclusion of the ABM Treaty was to some extent to the credit of the scientists.

[Ostalskiy] Yes, indeed, it seems to me too that it is far harder for a politician or a military man than it is for a scientist to arrive at such an apparently paradoxical idea—that defensive systems could increase the risk of war...

[Sagdeyev] You see how important it is. And in general, many politicians have, so to speak, learned scientific thinking among us. For instance, former U.S. Secretary of State H. Kissinger was for some time an active participant in our movement. True, I do not know whether we should be proud of that fact or not... New channels have now emerged for "quiet," unofficial, or "louder" diplomacy. We can only applaud that, but there is still work for the Pugwash Movement to do.

We are "diamond prospectors," we are prospecting for new ideas, and we must constantly progress.

[Garwin] But sometimes we are not looking for "diamonds," but for traps, pits into which mankind could fall. State institutions, which inevitably operate on the bureaucratic principle, are not very interested in

thinking about future dangers. A typical example of that is the "Challenger" tragedy. And that disaster put us back several years. Yet we scientists had foreseen it and warned of the danger.

[Calogero] Here is another historic achievement of Pugwash. I would like to remind you about a previous conference of ours—it also took place in Sochi, in 1969. At that time the official positions of the United States and the USSR were in some respects the opposites of their present positions. Thus Soviet representatives at that time regarded the creation of strategic defense systems as "not a bad idea," while the Americans were against it. But the Pugwash members formulated for the first time the clear idea that strategic defense leads to the stepping up of the arms race (and why). In Sochi the Soviet scientist Lev Artsimovich prepared a report on this subject, with conclusions that differed from official views. That was very unusual. Therefore I think we should remember that name, the name of someone who was not only an outstanding scientist, but also a very courageous man. And ultimately all this led to a change in the Soviet Union's official position.

[Sagdeyev] In this connection I would like to say: We are very pleased that another courageous man and great scientist is among us now—Andrey Sakharov.

[Ostalskiy] So the Pugwash Movement helped to change the Soviet Union's views on strategic defense. But now the U.S. Administration insists on the necessity for implementing the "Star Wars" program. What does Pugwash think about that?

[Garwin] You are hardly likely to find a single scientist taking part in our conference who has anything good to say about SDI. Those who are working direclty on this project obviously obtain scientific satisfaction. The problem here is not that the development of such technology is impossible. Americans do not try to do impossible things. The problem is that such a system would be too easy to destroy or circumvent. Many of us have published works clearly demonstrating that. President Reagan put forward his SDI idea without any analysis or any scientific foundation. Even Pentagon experts who had been working on the problem for many years were simply staggered when they heard Reagan's famous statement in 1983.

[Calogero] The vast majority of members of the international scientific community regard SDI as hopeless. Nonetheless it is necessary to maintain contacts and conduct debates with the few of us who, albeit with reservations, support it. We are trying to do this.

[Sagdeyev] What Dick Garwin related explains best of all why the Soviet Union adopted the doctrine of "asymmetrical response." This is precisely a case of a government relying on the opinion of the scientists.

[Ostalskiy] Could you assess the likelihood of the start of a nuclear war if we continue to rely on nuclear weapons as a means of deterrence and prevention of war?

[Garwin] In my assessment (although I know it could make an unpleasant impact on many people) the probability that a nuclear war will begin in the next 25 years is very high—50 percent. That is, of course, if the arms race continues. But if we manage to reverse its spiral and drastically reduce nuclear arsenals, the probability of war could be reduced to 1 percent in a 100-year period. If you compare this with the other threats hanging over mankind, it is very small. Although, of course, one would wish to find a way of living without nuclear weapons or wars at all, but that is one of our central problems, causing the greatest disputes.

[Calogero] We must be optimists, because the atmosphere in the world has changed drastically for the better recently. But we must be realistic: The threat of nuclear war is still very high. It may even be growing, I mean because of the spread of nuclear weapons in other countries. It is therefore particularly important to prevent this proliferation. It is necessary to work toward a situation where nuclear weapons would play no part in international relations, and then they will be unnecessary.

A nuclear-free world is attainable. But it may require the very situation we spoke of earlier: when states will have to sacrifice a part of their sovereignty. War should become unthinkable.

[Sagdeyev] We should be realists and work out practical scenarios for reducing nuclear arsenals. It is very difficult to calculate how high the probability of nuclear war starting accidentally is. But that probability certainly exists. It increases during crisis periods and is reduced during periods of detente.

Incidentally, if security depends on computers, what is the point of banning their sale? We must study this problem, the problem of a nuclear war starting accidentally, and perhaps exchange statistics on errors and dangerous false alarms, since we are living in an interdependent world.

'International Review' on New Thinking

PM1309083588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Tomas Kolsenichenko "International Review": "The World During the Week"]

[Text] The brief "political vacation," traditionally considered to fall in August, is over. World politics is once again gathering momentum, filling display screens and teletype machines with diverse information, rumors (sometimes really incredible rumors), and contradictory assessments and forecasts.

Political Denominator [subhead]

If we look at our world with our mind's eye, we can see an important trend in the world arena—in conflicts and crises which have lasted for years and even decades a shift toward national reconciliation and the search for ways toward a political settlement is becoming increasingly clear. Today the way out of seemingly hopeless impasses can be seen increasingly clearly not on a bloody battlefield but around the negotiating table, not in a show of force but on paths of mutual, sensible compromise. This is a very, very complex process entailing great difficulties, but the deadlock has nonetheless been overcome—which, of course, inspires hope. In this sense the complex talks in Geneva between Iran and Iraq, for example, attract close attention.

Having begun in Afghanistan, the policy of national reconciliation has moved far beyond it and set off a kind of "chain reaction." Real prospects have emerged for resolving the Cambodian problem by political means. The political mechanism for a settlement in southern Africa has finally started working—leading toward peace in Angola and independence for Namibia.

The general thrust of these processes does not presuppose any automatism. Each specific situation has its own ways and means of achieving a goal, which are peculiar to it alone and not borrowed from the outside, as well as its own natural laws and its own ways to resolve conflicts. However, despite all the diversity, there is a common denominator—the new political thinking and the democratization and humanization of international relations. The shift from confrontation toward the search for sensible solutions to international problems, which was begun by the Soviet Union and the United States, is having a tremendous impact on the whole course of world events.

But here a question arises, and readers are already putting it openly to journalists: How is it possible to speak of the strengthening of the new thinking when many Western and, above all, U.S. leaders are continuing to gamble publicly on the policy of strength, trying to revive the myth of the "Soviet threat," and so forth? There are many examples of this. This week alone U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci, en route to China, deemed it necessary to "warn Asia" that the "Soviet threat" has in no way diminished, while President Reagan, addressing the participants in the American Legion convention in Louisville, once again praised his administration's services in building up the U.S. military potential. "Strength," he said, "is the only road to peace." I could continue the examples, as these are not accidental slips of the tongue but a purposeful policy accompanied by a large dose of propaganda. "Wars which have lasted years are coming to an end," Stanley Hoffmann, chairman of the research center at Harvard University, remarks in THE NEW YORK TIMES. "The Reagan administration has hastened to declare that this is the result of its position of strength policy, but..." (the French say that it is possible to fit the whole of Paris into a "but"). And, analyzing the conflicts in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Nicaragua, and a number of other countries, the author himself goes on to prove the reverse.

The taking root of the new thinking has never meant that the nature of imperialism will change or that figures such as Reagan will suddenly "see the light" and be transformed in the twinkling of an eye from "hawks" into "doves." Matters are quite different—they involve creating in the international arena a reality that will objectively force all states to see their security problems not in the context of military-political solutions but in the context of political cooperation. Moreover, whatever Reagan, Bush, and others claim in their speeches, they are forced, when it is a question not of propaganda (which, unfortunately, does not contribute to the disappearance of the "image of the enemy") but of real politics, to reckon with the fact that at the end of the 20th century there is no alternative on the path to saving life on earth from nuclear destruction.

The elaboration of a new approach to ensuring national security and the linkage of its security with the security of other states are a historic service of Soviet foreign policy. Today this philosophical discovery is embodied in the specific work schedule of the inspection groups with regard to the monitoring and fulfillment of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. It has turned out that, by opening our nuclear "forges" to foreign verifiers and in turn crossing the threshold of foreign nuclear installations, we have only better ensured our national interests. This still seems incredible, but it is a fact—the materialization of the new political thinking and its first tangible results.

"First" is no accidental word. A long road lies ahead, and there will probably be recoils, breakdowns, and an intensification of the struggle. This is understandable. At the same time as revealing socialism's potential and developing glasnost and democracy, we are influencing world revolutionary processes, accustoming new strata in the West to our ideas, and destroying the "image of the enemy" which has taken shape there by no means only among the "ruling classes," as we sometimes claimed. Here, too, much still has to be done. During a scientific and practical conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry a curious fact was cited on the way our country's appearance is changing in the world under the impact of restructuring: Some 80 percent of Americans polled express a liking for M.S. Gorbachev. But the corresponding indicator for the Soviet Union as a country—just 20 percent. A big discrepancy. In order to reduce it, we need glasnost and more glasnost. The dynamism, unorthodox nature, and boldness of Soviet foreign policy initiatives in recent years have helped give rise to a broad coalition of forces that advocate trust among the peoples and a constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union.

Its results are already visible. "I solved this argument with a tomahawk," R. Kipling once wrote. Fortunately, things have not gone this far in Europe. The first

Tomahawks—U.S. cruise missiles—are leaving Britain in accordance with the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. The elimination of U.S. Pershing intermediate-range missiles began at an army plant in the state of Texas on 8 September. A good beginning. It is time to relieve our continent of nuclear arms.

However, not everyone in Paris and Bonn thinks so. Last Monday French Defense Minister J.-P. Chevenement discussed with his West German colleague the preparation and stationing in the FRG of a joint military brigade. There was also talk of a "joint defense council." There was more to come. Very dangerous plans were also sounded out to "open" the French nuclear umbrella over the FRG—which evidently must be understood as "compensation" for the Pershings' elimination.

This is contrary to the ideas of an all-European home free from nuclear arsenals and open for friendship, contacts, and multilateral cooperation. Europe's interests demand not the opening of new "nuclear umbrellas" but their scrapping and the tackling, at last, of the problem that has become most urgent here—the reduction of conventional arms. The recent Soviet initiatives in this sphere can be the basis for a serious and specific discussion.

Who Is Who [subhead]

The presidential election campaign in America began this week. "If you please," you will ask, "we have been reading about this for more than a year now." Yes, that is so. But officially it begins on Labor Day, which this year fell on Monday. Strictly speaking, it is not only the new president who is being elected. This year all 435 members of the House of Representatives and 33 of the 100 senators are being reelected, so that passions are boiling all over the country, forcing the residents of Capitol Hill to end as soon as possible the work of the 100th U.S. Congress, which has just resumed its activity.

But the "chief prize"—the seat in the Oval Office of the White House—is, of course, at the center of universal attention. Who will get it? There is no point in guessing now. The public opinion poll data, which give a certain advantage first to one candidate, then to another, is very relative. The sole result will be the "poll" when voters go to the ballot boxes or, rather, to the computers to vote 8 November. All U.S. news media, however, are now engaged in precisely this hopeless task of "guessing." Such is the tradition there. In passing, the newspapers and television will "dissect" the candidates and their entourage, shedding light on the whole truth about those who will become the new U.S. president and vice president. Glasnost, if anything, is ensured here. In fact the newspapers and, in particular, television largely determine the voters' tastes, "packaging" a particular candidate in the appropriate propaganda "wrappers."

Bush is an experienced "old horse" who does not spoil the furrows. It is said that he will extend the economic boom. True, the present vice president is only "Reagan's shadow," but give him a chance to develop and he will show you... True, he was somehow mixed up in "Irangate," but who has not sinned? And so on and so forth. Dukakis is a young rising star, the author of the "Massachusetts miracle"—the flowering of New England. At last someone will think about the blacks and the poor as well. True, he has no experience, particularly in international affairs; true, he refused to choose the black Jesse Jackson as his partner, but experience will come, and who has not sinned? This is roughly how the supporters of both candidates for the top post in America argue in public.

It is characteristic that the election platforms of the Republicans and the Democrats and the political positions of the candidates themselves are discussed far less. But this too is understandable. Although the Republicans' platform is seven times longer than the Democrats', there is nothing fundamentally new in it. The difference between the platforms lies in emphasis rather than essence. And the candidates' speeches place more emphasis on the style of leadership, on "American values," the "American dream," promises of universal prosperity, and so forth. Bush puts in first place the country's economic upswing, the reduction of unemployment, and the lowering of the level of inflation, and he credits the Republicans with achieving all this. The living standards of the majority of Americans have risen—and that is a fact. Dukakis in turn claims that Reagan has "simply been lucky," that prosperity has been bought on credit and there will soon be a bitter price to pay for it, and that the rich have become richer and the poor still poorer. This is the truth too. Concern at the present day, constant uncertainty about the future, the erosion of the "middle class," the growing difficulties of pensioners—all this "works" for Dukakis.

In foreign policy the emphases are more easily distinguishable. For Bush (here "Reagan's shadow" is most clear) the chief thing is "the strength and might of America," the gamble on new weapons, SDI, and so forth (Quayle, his running mate, recently made a very primitive anti-Soviet statement). Although Dukakis is afraid of appearing "weak" (God forbid) (this is a target for Bush), he still promises a reduction in the military burden, disarmament, and "peace throughout the world." Both swear to continue the dialogue with the Soviet Union. This topic is aired more frequently by Dukakis, but Bush too is trying not to lag behind—for the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles was signed under a Republican president.... Bush, incidentally, was personally present at the destruction of the first Pershings.

On Monday the presidential campaign acquired new features. It is becoming increasingly "personal" and even abusive. So far Bush has been hitting "below the belt" more frequently. All possible use is being made of

Dukakis' Greek origins. Since he is a Greek, this means he is a bad patriot. Only an Anglo-Saxon can be good. And it is no coincidence, it is said, that at the time of the Vietnam War Dukakis' wife was either present at, or participated herself in the burning of the U.S. flag.

Being a bad speaker, Bush fears two upcoming television debates with Dukakis (who has hosted television programs professionally), particularly as, according to legend, during the television debates just one phrase of Reagan's—"There you go again"—which he used to reply to all Carter's attacks, was said to have been decisive in the struggle for the White House.

Dukakis maintains that Bush is simply incapable of being president, that he will never emerge from the shadow of his boss, and that the Republicans' entire election rhetoric is false. But the "image" of Bush created by his aides is a continuation of the endless series of movies like "Superman" and "Rambo."

Another interesting fact: Specialists have calculated that, with equal chances for both candidates, the "undecided" will have the decisive word. Today they make up approximately 30 percent of the electorate—chiefly people living in the suburbs, people without higher education. And here we have two graduates of the most prestigious U.S. universities (Yale and Harvard) competing to appear to voters as such "ordinary guys." Bush, for example, has declared that he is "not too widely read," and after speaking at a fish plant he took off his jacket and participated in dividing up the catch—here is the "working guy," for before becoming a millionaire Bush left his rich parents and started from scratch. But not everything proceeds smoothly. At a shipyard in the state of Oregon, instead of the expected applause, there was a scandal—Bush was greeted with boos and hoots.

Bob Schiffer's report cited a worker's words: "I just don't understand the language Bush speaks."

Dukakis has his own problems. First, with the black population. They cannot forgive him for "betraying" Jackson. Second, he has to "defend himself," trying to prove that he is not a "liberal," that he is a "100-percent patriot," and so forth. In recent speeches he has been hardening his foreign policy program.

One way or another, the struggle is heating up. Americans today are living through the fluctuations in this "duel." And, in the end, it is up to them whom they choose.

U.S. Maintenance of Foreign Bases Criticized

PM1209102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Yuriy Zhukov article: "All Go Home! On One Soviet Proposal That the West Is Stubbornly Ignoring"]

[Text] More than 18 months ago—16 February 1987—when speaking in the Kremlin at a meeting with participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, For the Survival of Mankind," M.S. Gorbachev proposed a "return to the old idea of eliminating foreign bases." These words were greeted with applause. "Send the troops home, too"—the CPSU Central Committee general secretary continued. Applause rang out once again.

While keenly discussing this important proposal, many participants in the forum—as I well recall—stated: It's now up to Washington. Many people were in an optimistic mood. Such a far-reaching initiative cannot, they said, be rejected. But no applause was heard across the ocean. Moreover, people there pretended that what was said in the Kremlin didn't apply to them.

Some 16 months passed. USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze once again raised before the world community the long-overdue question of eliminating foreign military bases and of withdrawing troops from the territories of other countries. This time the proposal was made quite officially at the Third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. The USSR proposed the complete elimination of a foreign military presence on the territories of other countries by the year 2000. The session was presented with the appropriate working document containing a detailed program for implementing this task "gradually, step by step."

The Soviet proposal provoked an ardent response and was supported at the United Nations but—alas!—this time, too, official Washington showed not the slightest interest in it.

The question of eliminating military bases and of withdrawing troops from the territories of other countries has recently once again attracted the attention of international public opinion. It is particularly interesting that this time it is on the Americans' account: FORTUNE, the mouthpiece of U.S. business circles, cast doubt on the position of the U.S. Administration, which is stubbornly opposed not just to eliminating but even to reducing the presence of U.S. Armed Forces abroad.

"Is it not time for the United States," the journal asked, "to bring some of its boys home?" Then the magazine continued: "The United States has 500,000 men, approximately one-fourth of its Armed Forces, abroad—more than the British Empire had in its heyday.... Politicians and scientists, contemplating the long-term future, are increasingly alarmed that America's military commitments exceed its economic capabilities."

Of course, I by no means think that these arguments will persuade the Pentagon to radically change its position or that it will "bring its boys home" following the express desire of the U.S. business circles' press organ. But the fact that these thoughts are beginning to ferment in these U.S. circles indicates a great deal. Above all, how sentiments are changing across the ocean as the new thinking spreads.

In an attempt to somehow justify the imaginary need to keep their troops abroad on other countries' territories, people in Washington have always attributed it to the need to restrain the "evil Russian bear." But now that this false "enemy image" artificially created over decades is losing its authenticity, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the White House, the State Department, and the Pentagon to explain why the USSR does without foreign bases (after the war we had two bases—at Porkkala Point in Finland and Port Arthur in China, but they were soon eliminated) and the United States cannot do without them.

In February 1945, during the Yalta Conference, W. Churchill asked F.D. Roosevelt, as it were in passing: "How long will your troops remain in Europe?" "A maximum of 2 years," the U.S. President replied. The question was asked with an ulterior motive: Although Churchill was an inveterate anti-Soviet, he realized the implications in the event of a conflict of the presence of U.S. bases on British territory. "We mustn't forget," he said, "that, by setting up U.S. bases, we are turning ourselves into a target and maybe into the bull's-eye."

Roosevelt's answer satisfied Churchill, but soon the peace-loving U.S. President died. He was replaced by the bellicose Truman, whose head was turned by the then U.S. monopoly on the atomic bomb, and Pentagon generals who had long dreamed of preparing for war against the USSR obtained freedom of action. The creation of a solid ring of military bases around the USSR played an extremely important role in their plans. In the summer of 1945 General Arnold, commander of the U.S. Air Force, stated uninhibitedly:

"Our next (!) opponent is Russia. We need bases throughout the world to make successful use of our strategic air forces located in such a way that we can strike from them any site that we are ordered to bomb."

I remember when I went to Paris in April 1946, almost a year after the victory, how the French capital looked like an occupied city. U.S soldiers rushed everywhere in their jeeps, and a warning sign bearing the inscription in English "Careful! Death Lasts Such a Long Time" even stood at the entrance to the Champs Elysees. The best concert hall, the "Olympia," was turned into a free movie theater for U.S. servicemen. Paris lived a life of poverty and hunger—governed by ration cards—while enterprising Yanks in uniform speculated skillfully, bringing into play their abundant rations of chocolate, cigarettes, and so forth. Even in famous Verdun, which was in the eyes of the French a symbol of the struggle for the independence of their homeland, I saw the Stars and Stripes flying over the ancient fortress, which the French were forbidden to enter.

It looked as if the Yanks intended to remain in France for an interminably long time, but in 1967 France's President General de Gaulle put an end to their military presence. I observed stretching out along the road leading to the eastern border the never-ending lines of heavy trucks carrying to the FRG and Belgium the colossal stocks of arms and munitions from the U.S. dumps set up after the war on the Atlantic coast.

However, in other West European countries—and not only West European countries—the leaders were not as resolute as De Gaulle, and the U.S. military presence abroad was stepped up.

People in Washington are now being careful about talking as frankly as the aforementioned General Arnold did at one time about the purpose of U.S. military bases abroad, but the crux of the matter is unchanged. They are now saying that these bases "ensure U.S. security."

President R. Reagan provided additional "theoretical justification" for this unbridled U.S. military presence throughout the planet in 1987—in a report on U.S. strategy. This report said that "U.S. national security strategy is based on the concept of 'defense at front lines' and on 'strengthening the solidarity of alliances.'" The President asserted that the United States, guided by this doctrine, must retain in peacetime major armed forces on the territory of its NATO and Asian allies, as well as major forward-based forces at sea. In accordance with this concept, according to the latest official data, the United States now has 525,600 servicemen abroad in 32 countries. More than one-half of them are in Europe—250,782 in the FRG, 29,395 in Britain, and 14,800 in Italy. These are followed by Spain, Turkey, Belgium, Greece, Iceland, the Netherlands, and Portugal.

In the Pacific and Far East zones—the second region in terms of the scale of the U.S. military presence—there are 50,200 U.S. servicemen in Japan, 43,400 in South Korea, 16,600 in the Philippines, and so on everywhere; there are even 800 in Australia!

This is supplemented by the infantry, air forces, and naval forces in the Near East, South Asia, Central and South America, Canada, Africa, and the adjacent islands.

But the longer this goes on, the more unwilling are U.S. allies and "friends" to tolerate the presence of their long-staying guests, especially since they behave in by no means a gentlemanly fashion. Britain's THE TIMES mentioned recently that "since the sixties a minimum of nine countries, including such old U.S. friends as Thailand and Pakistan, have refused to extend the term of base agreements. The United States is currently being forced to hold talks with another five countries where it still has bases. Washington is especially alarmed at the strengthening of opposition to its presence in four NATO countries."

The Pentagon also expects trouble in other regions of the world. Everyone is aware of the bold step taken by the New Zealand Government in banning U.S. ships carrying nuclear weapons from docking at its ports. The fate of the largest U.S. military bases on the Philippines—protracted difficult talks are now under way in Manila about their future—has been called into question. In Japan the struggle to eliminate the 150 U.S. military bases and facilities there does not abate. Even in South Korea we have seen on several occasions on television how protest demonstrations are continually flaring up.

This is understandable: Whereas comparatively recently deliberate propaganda means were able to dull people's hostility to the foreign military presence with constant assertions that the U.S. Armed Forces were protecting them against Soviet aggression, now that the scales have fallen from their eyes and they have all seen that no such threat exists, that there is no trace of it, this justification has collapsed.

The struggle to eliminate foreign bases and military presence on the territories of other countries is, of course, a long and difficult business—there can be no illusions on this score. But the longer it goes on, the more topical will be the slogan applied to U.S. servicemen: "All Go Home!" The incipient normalization of international relations, the implementation of far-reaching confidence measures, and the consistent reduction of armed forces and armaments that has already been initiated will all help toward implementing this slogan by the year 2000.

That is why it would be important now to put on the agenda the implementation of the following, albeit preliminary measures envisaged by the action program proposed by the Soviet Union on 13 June at the Third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament:

"No buildup of military presence or military activity outside national borders;

"A ban or limitation on siting nuclear and chemical weapons at military facilities abroad and on carrying out electronic reconnaissance from them;

"A reduction of military presence in conflict regions;

"No extension of the terms of base agreements, and a halt to the transfer to third countries of troops and arms from bases being eliminated; and

"Other measures provided for by the working document."

There's something to think about here, something for everyone who is interested in consolidating peace to work on.

United States & Canada

U.S. Sanctions Against Iraq 'Self-Seeking'

PM1209133588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Pressure on Iraq"]

[Text] Washington, 10 Sep—Washington's "high morality," which it always holds up as an example to the rest of the world, in fact frequently proves to be an exercise in hypocrisy.

The Senate of the U.S. Congress has unanimously approved rigorous economic sanctions against Iraq, accusing it of "gross violation of international laws." The legislators are prohibiting the granting of credit to that Arab country, the sale of equipment for its oil industry, and purchases of Iraqi oil, as well as obliging the United States to oppose the granting of loans to Baghdad in international financial organizations.

What has Iraq done to annoy the U.S. senators? Specifically, it is a question of very diffuse and vague reports, according to which Iraq has used toxins in military operations against Kurdish insurgents. These reports are based on the testimonies of some Kurdish refugees.

Washington has no more substantial evidence. Although Secretary of State Shultz and other officials have leveled repeated accusations at Iraq in recent days, attention has been drawn here to the fact that C. Redman, spokesman for the U.S. foreign policy department, has stubbornly refused to discuss the question of what such accusations are based on.

With equally enviable stubbornness, the administration and Congress have ignored the statement made at a news conference in the U.S. capital by S. Hammadi, Iraqi minister of state for foreign affairs, who authoritatively and categorically rejected all fabrications about the use of chemical weapons. They simply refuse to listen to him because they pursue quite different, self-seeking ends. It would hardly be a mistake to say that one of these is political and economic pressure on Iraq and an attempt to ensure its "tractability."

At any rate, the action approved by the Senate is now going to be examined by the House of Representatives, which is also expected to support it. The initiators of the measures believe that Iraq will feel the effect almost immediately—the country has accumulated a huge debt of $60 billion. Iraqi oil exports to the United States are minimal, but Baghdad receives $800 million in the form of credits.

Meeting With U.S. Lawyers Begins in Moscow

LD1209132588 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—A Soviet-American meeting on legal aspects, the first ever in the history of bilateral relations, opened in Moscow today. It is attended by directors of legal services of different Soviet and American ministries and departments, organisations, prominent scientists and practical lawyers.

The lawyers' meeting comes soon after the Moscow summit meeting where the Soviet and American leaders declared their striving to develop bilateral trade, it was noted at the plenary meeting. To develop trade it is necessary to have mutual confidence which is unthinkable without "legal openness", and the meeting of the lawyers of the two countries is called upon to make its contribution to solution of this task.

One of the major items on the agenda is joint Soviet-American ventures, their being in accordance with legislative norms of the two countries.

The meeting will last till September 16.

Peltier Supporters Hold Rally Near U.S. Embassy

LD1209120288 Moscow TASS in English 1044 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—A message to U.S. congressmen was handed over today at the U.S. Embassy in the USSR during a rally of solidarity with Leonard Peltier, courageous champion of the Indian people's rights. The rally was sponsored by the Khakass committee in his defence.

Khakass people, a small ethnic group in Siberia, have ancient relations and common cultural traits with indigenous population of America.

Representatives of the Khakass autonomous region set up their yurta in front of the U.S. Embassy. Many wore Indian national clothes. Rally participants held posters calling for a release of Leonard Peltier.

"Today the leader of American Indians marks his 44th birthday," said poet and playwright Mikhail Kilchichakov, deputy chairman of the Khakass committee in defence of Leonard Peltier. "He spent 12 of them in prison. We specially came to the Soviet capital so as to convey U.S. congressmen our request to review Peltier's case framed up by the FBI. Young people from Sverdlovsk and Krasnoyarsk joined us en route to Moscow, and Novosibirsk residents sent with us students who study every-day life and culture of Indians."

"Studies give grounds for claims," he noted, that Indians had come to America from Siberia. We have many common cultural traits. Our people have done much to help their far-away brother who got into trouble: Men of

letters held meetings receipts from which were donated to the Peltier assistance fund. We repeatedly sent our messages in defence of Peltier to the USA but they remained unanswered.

Pilot Urges Reagan To Extradite Hijackers

PM1209134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

["Appeal to the U.S. President" from G.L. Chakhrakiya, former civil aircraft pilot: "These People Must Appear Before a Court"]

[Text] Kutaisi, Georgian SSR—The Brazinskas father and son, who were aboard our aircraft 15 October 1970, treacherously attacked the crew members in the cockpit. They murdered stewardess Nadezhda Kurchenko. They seriously wounded me—the commander of the plane—and the navigator. The Brazinskases threatened to blow up the aircraft in midair. In order to save the lives of the 44 passengers on board under these conditions, our crew was forced to comply with the bandits' demand and change course and land the aircraft on Turkish territory at Trabzon airport.

As a result of a serious wound to my spine inflicted by the bandits' shots, I was left a disabled invalid for life at the age of 32. No law on human rights can be on the side of air pirates who terrorize the crew and passengers of a peaceful airliner. The fact that the United States has given the Brazinskas bandits asylum unties the hands of international terrorism, which you, Mr President, have frequently spoken out against in public.

It is obvious that preventing the governments of all countries from granting asylum to various kinds of criminals, including terrorists, would help curb such crimes in the future and would give definite guarantees protecting man's foremost right—the right to life.

In connection with the fact that the Brazinskas father and son have for many years hidden from justice in the United States, I—as a victim—ask you, Mr President, to use your authority to hand over the Brazinskases to the Soviet Union, on whose territory they committed the crime. The Brazinskases must appear before a court and obtain their just deserts.

Signed: With respect, G.L. Chakhrakiya, former civil pilot, Kutaisi, Georgian SSR

China

Soviets, China Find 'Common Ground' on Issues

OW1309065588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] The QIU SHI journal publishes an article by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in which he points out that the change from confrontation to dialogue reflects the needs of the times. In the article, the foreign minister discussed major international issues. I would like to tell our listeners that the Soviet media have responded to this article. Soviet television mentioned the article in its news broadcasts, and the Soviet central newspaper PRAVDA published an excerpt of the article. Our station commentator Mulatov has the following to say on the article:

Recently, the Soviet Union and China have found more and more common ground in their efforts to eliminate conflicts in various regions of the world and to improve international relations on the basis of cooperation and dialogue. The Soviet-Chinese working meeting on the Cambodian issue held in Beijing from 28 August to 1 September has demonstrated this. I believe that the vice foreign ministerial meeting has made important contributions to increasing mutual understanding. The understanding reached will contribute to the settlement of Cambodia's external problems; the internal problems can only be resolved by the Khmer people themselves. I believe that it is entirely possible to resolve the remaining differences between the two countries in future dialogue.

Let me now change the topic from specific regional issues to the principles and stand taken by the Soviet Union and China on the question of confrontation and conflicts. Let us compare the principles held by the two countries.

In his article in the QIU SHI journal, Comrade Qian Qichen discussed the confrontation and conflicts in South Africa, Central America, and the Middle East. The views held by the Soviet Union and China on these specific issues reflect the policies adopted by the two countries in the pursuit of peaceful political settlement to conflicts and military confrontation. I think that it is not coincidence that the Soviet news media noticed Comrade Qian Qichen's article in QIU SHI. The Soviet news media did so because his principles and arguments practically chime in with the new Soviet political thinking and our country's foreign policy. I would like to point out that the elimination of regional conflicts through political means is a major component of the plan to establish an international security system put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress.

I believe that the Soviets and Chinese always remember that our two large socialist countries play a major role in world politics. The more understanding the two countries have of each other and the more the two countries act in coordination, the more it is likely to change our insecure world from one of confrontation to one of dialogue.

PRC Paper Views CPSU Conference Aftermath

PM1209142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Tremendous Work"]

[Text] Beijing, 9 Sep—RENMIN RIBAO, the organ of the CPC Central Committee, has published an article entitled "After the 19th CPSU Conference." Two months have

already elapsed since the party conference, the article says. In this short time the Soviet Union has done tremendous work throughout the country to implement the spirit of the conference and has made definite progress in this sphere but, at the same time, has encountered certain problems as well. The conference clearly pointed out that comprehensive reform of the political structure is a key link in deepening restructuring. M.S. Gorbachev believes that if the political structure is not reformed, then all restructuring will be in vain. A CPSU Central Committee plenum on 29 July this year discussed questions of practical work to implement the decisions of the party conference and outlined concrete steps.

In accordance with the aims of the reform, a report and election campaign is being carried out in all regions of the Soviet Union in party organs. The CPSU Central Committee plenum demanded that the positions of the supporters of real restructuring, antirestructuring, and pseudorestructuring be clearly distinguished during this process.

The CPSU Central Committee intends to complete within 1 year the work in the sphere of reforming the political structure; namely, transferring state power (legislative, government, and control) to the soviets and thus demarcate party and administrative functions.

In more than 3 years of restructuring the Soviet Union has just broken free of stagnation but is still encountering a number of problems, notably the food problem. Soviet scientists and economists think that it is necessary to start first with agriculture in order to rectify the economic situation. The CPSU Central Committee stressed in a number of resolutions that the resolution of the food problem is the most pressing task today. At recent CPSU Central Committee plenums M.S. Gorbachev pointed out that the further development of agriculture cannot be achieved solely by increasing capital investments. Economic relations in the countryside must be radically restructured in order for every peasant to become a master on the land.

Over the last 2 months debate has continued within the party on questions of restructuring. Various viewpoints are being expressed, for instance, on the problem of a market economy and others. According to M.S. Gorbachev, a tense period has now set in when only the implementation of the party conference's political course can guarantee the irreversibility of restructuring.

Northeast Asia

U.S. Force Off Korea 'Blatant Blackmail'

LD1209135288 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

While a record number of entrants from nearly 160 countries are expected at the 24th Olympic Games in Seoul, which comes as a result of changes for the better in international relations, the United States has decided to stage a show of force in the area of the Korean peninsula in a move smacking of blatant blackmail.

KYODO news service has reported that the attack aircraft-carrier Midway has left the naval base Yokosuka heading for the Korean peninsula with over 70 planes, including nuclear-capable ones, on board.

Two other ships from the same base are to leave it and join the aircraft-carrier later. They are the missile cruiser Bunker Hill and the destroyer Fife, which are armed with Tomahawak cruise missiles, including nuclear-tipped ones.

Another flotilla of American warships led by the 81,600-ton nuclear-powered aircraft-carrier Nimitz with some 100 planes, among them more than 40 nuclear-capable ones, is to enter the Sea of Japan this week.

These are just two major U.S. naval task forces being concentrated off Korean shores. There are others as well.

The question arises: Why does the U.S. need to form such a powerful naval fist in the area?

The U.S. Naval Command's explanations that it is needed to "ensure security for the Olympic Games" and "prevent possible terrorist action" can only cause an ironic smile.

It is known to everybody that no country is going to attack the Olympians gathered in Seoul. Their calm, besides, will be protected by a 120,000-strong corps of South Korean police and servicemen.

The matter is apparently not the Olympics but something else, namely U.S. strategy in the area, which has not undergone change despite the winds of new political thinking blowing in the world.

It is a strategy for a "second front" in the event of any conflict in Europe. It is a strategy for a naval buildup to ensure U.S. naval superiority which should, the White House said in a report last year, pose a global threat to Soviet interests.

Doesn't this explain the absence of any reaction on the part of Washington to USSR's Vladivostok initiatives and Soviet proposals which have been formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev in his interview with the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA and evoked a broad response in Asia and the Pacific?

Sabre-rattling off Korean shores during the Olympics, just as on any other days, cannot but be a cause of concern for the world public.

The world has not forgotten cases where unprecedented concentrations of U.S. military and naval power in various areas have been turned under the pretext of "protection against terrorism" against individual countries and peoples.

The shadow of Mars must not be allowed to eclipse the bright ideals of the Olympics and impair popular hopes for stronger peace and trust and closer cooperation among nations.

Chebrikov, Syrian Official Meet in Pyongyang

PM1309085588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Leaves"]

[Excerpts] Pyongyang, 11 Sep—The Soviet party and government delegation headed by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR KGB, left Pyongyang for home today. [passage omitted]

Yesterday V.M. Chebrikov met with Ba'th Party Assistant Secretary General 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, head of the Syrian party and government delegation at the celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the formation of the DPRK, at the Syrian representative's request. During the conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, there was an exchange of opinions on the Near East situation and a number of other issues of mutual interest.

Comparison of Report on Chebrikov in Pyongyang

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 11 September 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the 10 September Pyongyang rally in honor of the Chebrikov-led USSR delegation. The PRAVDA item, carried under the general heading "Festivities in Pyongyang," has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service Russian version published in the 12 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the subhead "10 Sep 'Mass Meeting', pages 21-22, revealing the following variations:

Page 21

Column two, third paragraph, line five reads in PRAVDA "...delegation will contribute greatly to the strengthening..." (adding "greatly")

Column two, fifth paragraph, line thirteen reads in PRAVDA "...one of the urgent tasks in..." (omitting "most)"

Page 22

Column one, fourth paragraph, line four reads in PRAVDA "...Korean town of Huichon will work jointly." (clarifying name).

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Opposition to Burmese Government 'Wavering'

LD1209140788 Moscow TASS in English 1342 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Rangoon September 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Zuyev:

Despite the decision of the extraordinary session of Burma's People's Assembly to hold general elections on a multiparty basis, fresh antigovernment protests erupted in the capital today. Their participants demanded an immediate resignation of the government of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP). The protestors chanted: "Down with the BSPP", "We demand the immediate creation of an interim government".

Around one thousand students and workers are holding a hunger strike outside the central hospital. Opposition groups which were offered to register as political parties declared that they were not going to do that. One of the leaders of the movement Su Gyi told the newspaper DOW EY that only the interim government, backed by the entire people, could ensure fair and independent elections.

However, the opposition shows signs of wavering. For example, one of the leaders of the All Burma Students' Union Chit Wai stated that the union abstained from criticising the decision of the leadership and took a neutral stand so far.

The leader of the parallel government, U Nu, who served as prime minister before the 1962 military coup, welcomed the decision of the country's government. Three of the appointed ministers already declared that they quit the parallel government. They include one of the most vocal critics of the regime retired General Tin U, who was ousted from the post of defense minister in the BSPP government.

Election Offer Rejected

BK1209140788 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] According to reports coming in from Rangoon, the decision made at the Extraordinary Congress of the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP] and the emergency meeting of the People's Assembly to hold multiparty general elections within 3 months did not succeed in reducing the tension inside Burma. Opposition groups are demanding the immediate resignation of the incumbent government and the handing over of power to an independent caretaker government to hold the elections.

As is known by all, U Nu, former Burmese prime minister and chairman of the League for Democracy and Peace, also announced the formation of a provisional

government on Friday [9 September]. Observers believed that the move was aimed at taking the initiative to control the situation and to attract the Defense Forces to his side. However, ex-Brigadier General Aung Gyi, another opposition leader, said U Nu's move was preposterous. He said that such hasty action, particularly at a time when careful consideration is so essential, will not bring about postive results.

Earlier, U Nu suggested the holding of general elections on 9 October. But since circumstances do not warrant normal election procedures, U Nu proposed the election of representatives to state organizations by holding mass meetings.

In the meantime, President Maung Maung announced that in accordance with the decision made at the party congress and the People's Assembly, the exact date of the general elections will be fixed when the newly formed opposition parties suggest a date.

Observers say that with the exception of the League for Democracy and Peace, the opposition forces at the present have not yet been able to form political parties.

Meanwhile, the situation in Burma has worsened as economic enterprises have remained idle due to strikes. In many residential areas, administrative buildings have been taken over by the people representing the opposition. The Defense Forces, meanwhile, are taking effective action against unscrupulous people who have taken advantage of the turbulent situation to commit looting and theft. According to the latest REUTER dispatch from Bangkok, President Maung Maung has said it was time for efforts to restore peace and tranquility in the country. Citing Rangoon Radio, REUTER also noted Maung Maung as saying: Verbally ordering outsiders to vacate the occupied administrative offices and buildings will not be sufficient. Dr Maung Maung said these sites must be retaken if government is to assert control over administration.

Demonstrations are continuing all over the country, and students have started a 12-hour hunger strike in front of the Rangoon General Hospital. Meanwhile, many embassies have ordered the evacuation of dependent families from Rangoon.

Hun Sen: PRK Army Can Suppress Pol Potists

BK1109080488 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Observer Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] The Army of the PRK is fully capable of suppressing the Khmer Rouge following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia. This statement was made by Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRK, in an interview with the British paper THE INDEPENDENT. He stressed that the Khmer Rouge cannot return to Cambodia and wield power again even if they continue to receive foreign aid.

Our observer, Comrade Alekseyev, recalled that the Khmer Rouge, or the Pol Pot gang, ruled the country for 3 years, 8 months, and 20 days. Theirs was a genocidal regime which massacred more than 3 million Cambodians. From their refuge abroad, Pol Pot and his associates have sought to regain power through the use of arms. In Phnom Penh, the bid to prevent the Pol Potists from returning to power in Cambodia has been regarded as an important condition for any solution to the Cambodian problem. Under such a condition, the confidence that the Cambodian Army will be able to fulfill this task is of paramount importance. This duty, however, is not restricted to the Armed Forces of the PRK alone. The fact is that the groups of Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann, too, will never agree to let the Khmer Rouge return to power in Cambodia.

At the Bogor meeting, the groups of Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann fully supported the attitude of the PRK Government on this matter. It is most evident now that the policy of military confrontation with Phnom Penh has threatened to throw the Khmer Rouge into political isolation.

Are there any prospects for solution? In a recent interview with NOVOYE VREMYA, Comrade Hun Sen stressed that in such a situation, the Cambodian solution can be found without the participation of the Khmer Rouge. It is widely believed that the groups of Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann would certainly agree with this type of solution.

Voss Receives Australian Parliament Delegation

PM0909131188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 6 September a meeting took place between A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and a delegation of Australian parliamentarians from the Liberal Party led by Member of Parliament D. Moore, which is in our country at the invitation of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Near East & South Asia

Roundup of Afghan News; Protest to UN

LD1209152288 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Kabul September 12 TASS—The soot-covered multi-storied building of the Afghan Cart trade company, smashed windows, warped metal structures and fragments of glass on a vast territory around the building—that has been the sight of the Afghan Cart this

morning, following the villainous sally which was staged by extremists in the centre of Kabul. According to specified data, a powerful car explosion left 13 people dead and 42 wounded.

1,618 Afghans returned home from abroad in the past week. A total of over 3,000 of them returned in three weeks. The BAKHTAR news agency reported that 155 people passed into Afghanistan through the frontier post of Towr Kham in the past 24 hours alone. Upon receiving the necessary aid they were sent to the native district of Shinwar.

12 former members of armed formations in the northern Afghan province of Sar-e Pol surrendered on their own to the local authorities, having become aware that continued bloodshed was to no avail.

On Sunday, extremists from the armed opposition rocketed suburbs of Gardeyz, the administrative centre of the Paktia Province. There are civilian casualties.

The BAKHTAR news agency reports from Qandahar that an extremist group, who secretly penetrated into the town, was liquidated there. A big quantity of weapons and ammunition was captured in the operation.

Afghanistan's Foreign Ministry has sent the 79th note to the representation of the U.N. observers in Kabul in protest against Pakistan's yet another violation of the provisions of the Geneva agreements. The document contains the request of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan that an investigation be held into the mentioned facts and the results be reported to the Afghan Government and a representative of the U.N. secretary-general.

Bombing Blamed on Pakistan's 'Hired Assassins'

LD1209161888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1405 GMT 12 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by Mikhail Leshchinskiy]

[Text] Afghan extremists have committed a new crime in Kabul. Here is a report from the scene of action:

[Leshchinskiy] A powerful explosion shook the main shopping street in central Shahr-e Now, which means a new town. Shops belonging to rich Kabul merchants line both sides of the street. Look what is left of them!

A powerful plastic explosive was put in a car parked near the Afghan Cart state commercial organization. This building is on fire now.

As recently as yesterday, on the "Vremya" program, we spoke about the considerable activization of the Afghan opposition, which enjoys direct support from Pakistan in its terrorist activities, and about its goals and methods. And here is another crime. This tragedy took place in immediate proximity to the Pakistani Embassy; it is over there, where the Pakistani flag is.

What is happening? Is it a coincidence or, so to speak, is it those who are being paid money showing their work to good effect? Well, let those gentlemen from over there look at the deeds of the hired assassins sent in from Pakistan, where they were trained in still operational terrorist camps.

According to preliminary estimations, 13 people died at the scene of the explosion, nearly one-half of them women and children. Most of the wounded are in critical condition. The search in the burned-down building is continuing.

Afghan, Soviet Mine-Clearing Efforts Continue

LD0909220688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by Mikhail Leshchinskiy]

[Text] In Afghanistan Soviet and Afghan sappers are continuing to eliminate minefields.

[Leshchinskiy] Up to about 5 minutes ago my very first step on this soil could have been the last I took in my life. The fact is that there was a minefield here containing tension-release antipersonnel mines. You see, the sappers have just been here checking whether any mines remain. Moroever, this minefield was not laid by the armed Afghan opposition but by our Soviet sappers, who have now been eliminating it, too.

Indeed this had been a military necessity. The minefields hampered the rebels from conducting their piratic acts on the roads and from destroying tunnels, bridges, pipelines, and power lines. They covered the approaches to national economic installations, airfields, Soviet and Afghan military cantonments, posts, and guarded points. Altogether 2,131 minefields were laid. They have special fences and are kept under constant observation. Everywhere there are bulletin boards carrying the appropriate inscriptions in Dari and Pashto. To date almost three-quarters of these minefields have been eliminated, like this one which was laid 5 years ago. For different mines there are different methods of elimination. Here, as you can see, the antipersonnel mines are simply being crushed by a mine-clearing combat vehicle.

I am speaking of all this in such detail because it is being repeatedly stated in the headquarters of the opposition and also in the West that, as they depart from Afghanistan, the Soviet forces are conducting a thorough laying of mines here. Representatives of the world's press observing the elimination of the minefields have been able to see for themselves the absurdity of such statements.

Major General Muhammad Ayub Mansur, chief of the Afghan Army's engineering troops, reported that the minefield that was eliminated today was the 1,519th. Neither Soviet nor Afghan troops, he said, have been laying new minefields since the proclamation of national reconciliation. The mine war that extremists have unleashed on a broad scale presents the real danger to peaceful inhabitants and refugees. Together with our Soviet friends, Gen Ayub said, we are traveling our part of the road. It is time for the rebels to do the same, so that our ancient land finally bears life and not death.

Habash Comments on Uprising, Conference Idea

PM1209120588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with George Habash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, by correspondent B. Ivanov in Moscow under general heading: "George Habash: Fighting to the End"; date not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] George Habash... That name long ago became legendary in the Near East. You can scarcely find anyone in the Arab world today who does not know of the secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP]—a mass-based and influential Palestinian organization. During his visit to Moscow, George Habash carved out time for a talk with an IZVESTIYA correspondent.

[Ivanov] The 10th month of the Palestinians' uprising in the Arab territories occupied by Israel has begun. Jordan's recent decision to end its legal and administrative ties with the West Bank of the river Jordan has led to the creation of new factors in the situation. How, in your view, will events develop further?

[Habash] The uprising is currently the most important factor in the PLO's activity. I am convinced it will become broader and deeper. Evidence of this is the creation of people's patriotic committees in the occupied territories. Today they exist in virtually every city and every village. These committees are subordinated to the united national leadership of the uprising, implement its decisions locally, and are essentially organs of the people's power.

As for the step taken by King Husayn, representatives of the PLO leadership are now having consultations in many Arab countries with regard to their possible actions in this connection. As far as I know several options are being examined. For instance, the PLO could announce the creation of an independent Palestinian state on the basis of the relevant articles of international law and well-known UN resolutions and create a provisional government in exile. In my view another option, whereby the PLO would appeal to the United Nations to institute temporary international tutelage over the occupied territories, deserves close attention and study. This would be a real step toward convening an international conference on the Near East. Incidentally, this option among their possible actions has met with many supporters among the Palestinians. The final decision on how to act in the prevailing situation will soon be taken at a session of the Palestine National Council.

[Ivanov] The solution of the Palestine problem is an important component of an overall settlement in the region. In your opinion, is it ultimately possible to emerge from the impasse there?

[Habash] In my view the complex Near East knot can only be untied by one means—with the aid of the convocation of a representative international conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and all participants in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO, inasmuch as only the PLO has the legitimate right to represent the Arab people of Palestine at any international forum. I believe that today there is simply no other way out of the crisis.

[Ivanov] In your opinion, is the convening of such a conference possible in the near future?

[Habash] This is a very complex question. It is hard to say anything definite today. One thing I know for sure: The main obstacle to the implementation of the idea of convening a conference remains Israel's position. Tel Aviv rejects the possibility of such a conference "yesterday, today, and tomorrow," so to speak.

[Ivanov] Can we hope for any change in Israel's position?

[Habash] Under the present government I think not. I shall not venture to guess what will happen after the November elections in Israel. We shall see. In any case we Palestinians intend to continue the uprising until victory, to struggle to the end.

Demchenko Examines Palestinian Struggle

PM1209132788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Pavel Demchenko "Viewpoint": "Palestinians' Morale"]

[Text] The Palestinians held a general strike 9 September in the occupied territories. The Israeli authorities knew that this was brewing and tried to foil it, intimidating them by stiffening repressions. They organized an act of repression the day before in the city of Qalqilyah for the edification of the recalcitrant. Goons flung a tight cordon around the city, carried out mass searches, fired on groups of young people, and arrested approximately 300 persons. However, the show of force did not work: It did not succeed in preventing the strike. So the Palestinians marked the start of the 10th month of their uninterrupted anti-Israeli demonstrations, described by the Arabs as "intifadah," which means uprising.

Such protracted and purposeful demonstrations on the part of Palestinians did not take place when Israel was set up in 1948 or after the seizure of all of Palestine in 1967. Now a generation has entered combat which grew up during the years of occupation, during which almost half of the entire male population has spent time in jail or been subjected to other forms of persecution. Their ordeals have become for them a school of struggle and intransigence and have helped to overcome the barrier of fear of the occupiers.

Palestinian young people—and it is above all a question of them—cannot be stopped by the daily repressions and by the irresoluteness of certain Arab leaders. They are well aware of the history of their grandfathers—the fate of the generation of 1948, smashed by defeat and by the flight from their native land of hundreds of thousands of families—and are aware of the fate of their fathers, who relied on the arrival of deliverers from abroad and who saw the failure of the Arab armies in 1967. They are now arming themselves with slogans based on their own efforts and the realization that victory can be achieved above all by their own hands. Young people consider themselves the PLO strike force, and they consider the land on which they live to be their own native land from which no force can expel the Palestinians.

Hence, the protracted nature of the "intifadah" and the indomitable desire to bring it political success and now seal their achievements with a radical solution. What precisely? Judging from the Arab press, debates on this are now under way within the ranks of the insurgents, the PLO leadership, and in the political circles of many Near East states. Some people believe that the time has come to proclaim, with a unilateral act based on the UN resolution of November 1947, the independence of Arab Palestine and create a government in exile or a provisional government for it. Such a government would officially protect its citizens and then Israel would be forced to deal with it, especially if it were recognized by the United Nations and many countries. However, objections and questions have arisen: In that case what would be the role of the United Nations? Whom would the government represent—the inhabitants of the occupied territories alone or refugees scattered throughout various countries? For there is a very large number of them. People say that when proclaiming independence, a precise indication must be given of what territory is being referred to, and here, alas, there is as yet no united opinion even among the Arab leaders themselves.

Journalists covering Near Eastern events believe that answers to these questions will be given by the next session of the Palestine National Council (parliament in exile), which is to meet in Algiers 5-7 October. Its convocation has already been postponed several times in order to have time to discuss in greater detail the problems raised by life both with the leaders of the Arab governments and also within the Palestinian movement and to elaborate a concerted opinion on the eve of the session.

The official Israeli position on the events reflects, unfortunately, the aggressive course that is traditional to this country. Prime Minister Shamir described the ideas of Palestinian independence as a "vain undertaking," excluding the possibility of any talks with PLO representatives. Parliamentary elections are scheduled for 1 November in Israel, and many party leaders are now literally competing with each other in terms of anti-Palestinian statements. Statements by "moderate" politicians are lost amid their chorus. Thus, Netanyahu, a leading figure from the "Likud" bloc who obtained the largest number of party leadership votes during the compilation of the list of candidates, said that if his party comes to power he will take urgent, harsh measures to suppress the uprising. "Israel," he continued, "must examine the question of introducing stricter sanctions against the leaders of the uprising."

Nonetheless, I think that reality will inevitably compel the Israelis to face the truth: The uprising that is now entering its 10th month has proved that Israel cannot control the occupied territories by force. Political solutions at the international level are knocking at the door. The Palestinian problem is the heart of the Near East crisis, the solution of which cannot be avoided however long it is dragged out.

Analyst Views Prospects for Sahara Settlement

LD1209133988 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik:

The non-aligned foreign ministers' conference, which ended in Nicosia, has declared for direct talks between Morocco and the Polisario Front for a settlement of disputable issues around Western Sahara, and reaffirmed that the sole right way towards a peaceful settlement of one of the most protracted regional conflicts, which has marred the political climate in north west Africa for 12 years now. Simultaneously all sides involved in that conflict declared in support of the U.N. peace plan for Western Sahara put forward by U.S. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. It provides for a ceasefire between the confronting sides and the subsequent holding of a referendum, as a result of which nearly 200 thousand inhabitants of that desert country tucked up between Morocco and Mauritania on the Atlantic coast will have an opportunity to choose between independence or recognizing Rabat's power.

It is apt to recall the sources of the Saharan problem, which remained overshadowed, as it were, by large-scale regional conflicts raging around South Africa, Afghanistan, Nicaragua and other "hot spots" of the world. For a long time Western Sahara was known to the whole world as "Spanish Sahara" consisting of the continental territory Seguit el Hamra and the Rio de Oro isles. In 1975-1976 when Madrid "gave up" this colony, Rabat announced its accession to Morocco. More than 350

thousand Moroccan civilians—participants in the "Green March", which made a lot of noise in those years arrived from the north to the Saharan soil. Moroccan troops were stationed in a number of populated localities in Western Sahara, especially in its so-called "useful triangle" including the capital district of El Aioun, the phosphate mine Bou Craa and the belt conveyer linking it with the ocean.

Simultaneously the Frente Popular Para La Liberacion de Sakiet el Hamra y Rio de Oro (Polisario Front) proclaimed the founding of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic. The front backed by Algeria started an armed struggle for independence. Using guerrilla warfare tactics the patriotic forces placed under their control a considerable part of the country's territory and scored impressive successes in the diplomatic arena. At present the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic has been recognized by more than 70 states and given the status of full OAU member.

Under the present-day conditions when a search is going on the world over for a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, the armed dispute around Western Sahara has turned into an anachronism preventing a strengthening of trust and cooperation in the Maghreb. Realising that, Morocco and Algeria have embarked on an (?intense political) dialogue, which made it possible, in the final analysis to hope for the holding of a referendum in Western Sahara within the next four-eight months. As general secretary of the Polisario Front, President of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic Mohamed Abdelaziz, said, direct talks between the Republic and Rabat, the withdrawal of Moroccan troops, their replacement with "Blue Helmets", the intensification of the OAU's role in holding the referendum are the main conditions for a West Saharan settlement. As Soviet leader Andrey Gromyko stressed in receiving in the Kremlin the other day President of the Moroccan Chamber of Representatives Ahmed Osman, the Soviet Union has a stake in a relaxation of tensions in north west Africa and ensuring peace there. A peaceful settlement of conflict situation is a consistent policy of the USSR and the CPSU. The sooner full agreement is reached on the settlement of the West Saharan problem, the better.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gromyko Meeting With Malagasy President Noted

PM1309092388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "A.A. Gromyko Talks With D. Ratsiraka"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko met in the Kremlin 10 September with Didier Ratsiraka, president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, who stopped over in Moscow en route from Pyongyang to Antananarivo. Substantive talks were held with the leader of friendly Madagascar, in the course of which some problems of the international situation and of Soviet-Malagasy relations were discussed.

At the beginning of the talks A.A. Gromyko emphasized that Madagascar is regarded in the Soviet Union as one of those African countries with which the USSR has very good relations.

The interlocutors expressed the common opinion that an improvement in the international climate has become apparent since the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, the entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and also the start of the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. This has created favorable conditions for developing a productive international dialogue aimed at conducting a practical search for ways to settle regional conflict situations and actively involve the potential of the United Nations and other international mechanisms in the peacemaking process.

The Soviet side pointed out that the Geneva agreements have opened up the way to end the bloodshed in Afghanistan and that the Soviet Union, since the first day the agreements came into force, has accurately and unswervingly fulfilled the pledges which it adopted under them. At the same time the other participants, namely Pakistan and the United States, are grossly violating the Geneva agreements. We would like those countries to take a more sober stand. This question will probably be discussed in some form also at the upcoming UN General Assembly session, and the members of that organization can express their opinion on the situation that has been created. Taking a principled peace-loving stand, the Soviet Union will, of course, fulfill the Geneva agreements with due regard for how the other participants fulfill them.

The interlocutors voiced satisfaction with the fact that the policy of national reconciliation is increasingly becoming a determining factor in the development of the situation both inside and around Afghanistan. It is winning support from all sections of Afghan society and gaining increasingly great international recognition.

A.A. Gromyko and D. Ratsiraka came out in support of the talks being held between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA with U.S. mediation for the purpose of a political settlement in southwest Africa. At the same time, the Soviet side emphasized that the USSR maintains active contacts with Angola, Cuba, and the United States and intends to continue cooperation with all who are interested in seeking a just settlement in that region. Accords must be based on Angola's guaranteed security and the just resolution of the Namibian problem in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The Soviet side confirmed its principled, consistent policy of supporting the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation and helping developing countries to strengthen their independence and sovereignty and resolve tasks of economic, social, and cultural building.

The interlocutors exchanged opinions on a most acute and important problem of the present day—nuclear disarmament. A.A. Gromyko declared that it was and still is the most important task for all states and peoples. The Soviet Union is working indefatigably to proceed further along the road to removing the threat of nuclear war together with the other nuclear powers. The first steps have already been taken, since the process of eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles has begun in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty, but a very long road still has to be traveled.

In conclusion there was an exchange of opinions on some questions of Soviet-Malagasy cooperation.

The meeting was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was present.

'Certain Progress' in Talks on Angola Cited

LD0909223688 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Brazzaville September 9 TASS —The fifth round of the quadripartite talks on a political settlement of the situation in South-West Africa has ended in the Congolese capital today.

The joint summary statement by the delegations of Angola, Cuba, the USA and the RSA notes that certain progress has been achieved on issues under discussion. It has been decided to resume talks as soon as opportunity presents. The date and venue of the talks have not yet been named.

RSA Seeking 'Pretext' for Staying in Namibia

LD1209034388 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 11 Sep 88

[From the "Southern Africa—Panorama of Opinions" program, presented by Igor Potovskiy, with Mikhail (?Dugin)]

[Excerpts] [Potovskiy] Another round of the quadripartite talks on normalizing the situation in southwestern Africa ended in Brazzaville on Friday. [passage omitted] As in the previous round, the stumbling block proved to be the timetable for the withdrawal of the Cuban contingent. Little has transpired of the results of the meeting. REUTER reports that substantial progress has been achieved in Brazzaville...

[(?Dugin), interrupting] Excuse me, Igor. Let us go into that in greater detail. For weeks on end it has been said that the timetable for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola is both the key and the stumbling block of the negotiations. Why is this?

[Potovskiy] As far as Angola is concerned it is all very clear, in my opinion. Angola regards very tight timetables for the troop withdrawal as unacceptable because this would create understandable difficulties.

[(?Dugin)] Such as?

[Potovskiy] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has not ceased hostilities and has no intention of doing so. This has been repeatedly stated by Savimbi and must not be forgotten, all the more so since from the United States alone UNITA annually receives $15 million worth of military aid. A shortening of the timetable for the Cuban troop withdrawal might possibly have been accepted by the Angolan side had the United States undertaken to stop helping UNITA. But the United States insists upon continuing it.

[(?Dugin)] But South Africa's demand that the Cuban troop withdrawal timetable be shortened is merely leading to deadlock. It is altogether obvious that South Africa has no wish to grant independence to Namibia as soon as possible. Only last Wednesday, the day of the beginning of the latest round of talks, President Botha said it was necesssary to establish a realistic linkage between the Cuban withdrawal timetable and the implementation of Resolution 435. [passage omitted]

So what is going on? Are we going back to the linkage policy and scrapping the understandings reached in Geneva? [passage omitted]

[Potovskiy] It is highly unlikely that granting independence to Namibia will be in South Africa's plans. How can one expect Pretoria to renounce its control over a country in whose economy, according to the South African Government, it has invested $1.8 billion; a country that provides the main channel for South Africa's exports; a country whose economy—practically every one of its sectors—is under South African control. This at a time when South Africa's foreign debt is becoming burdensomely onerous and when economic sanctions have already forced it, according to President Botha, to drop social programs to the tune of almost $4 billion, with very real prospects of even tougher sanctions to come.

It should also be noted that the issue is not merely an economic one. At the moment there are no grounds for believing that the South African whites are ready to see Namibia being granted independence. Moreover, the white community in South Africa can no longer be regarded as a homogenous bloc. It has been seriously affected by the polarization of political forces. [passage omitted]

Many people believe, and in this I am in agreement with the British AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, that any serious changes with regard to Namibia will be viewed as a surrender of positions, and this will allow freedom of

action for the extreme right, represented to a large extent by the Army and the security apparatus, the country's most significant force. [passage omitted]

This is why, although circumstances have forced the South African politicians to some extent to revise their strategy, it is totally obvious that they will continue to act as before, that is to say, to resort to dilatory maneuvers, for any positive change toward the resolution of the Namibian problem will meet with resistence from the military, who have no intention of leaving Namibia. Their strategy, practically unchanged, is to create a buffer zone around South Africa by destabilizing the neighboring countries. [passage omitted]

All this should be borne in mind, especially on the eve of a change of administration in the United States, which might result in tougher sanctions against South Africa.

[(?Dugin)] So, to put it crudely, South Africa needs its delegation to be seen sitting around the table at the quadripartite talks.

[Potovskiy] Yes. To be seen is the operative term. Merely to be seen there, nothing else. This brings me to your first question: South Africa is insisting on a really short timetable for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola merely in order to cause a deadlock at the talks. In reality the presence of the Cuban troops in Angola suits South Africa to a "T." It gives it a pretext for staying in Namibia. [passage omitted]

Dobrynin Meets With SWAPO Leader 7 Sep

LD0709203088 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—A meeting between Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Sam Nujoma, president of South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Namibia, took place at the CPSU Central Committee today. Sam Nujoma stopped over in Moscow on the way to Pyongyang.

Sam Nujoma spoke about the situation in Namibia, about the struggle of the country's patriotic forces, headed by SWAPO, for an end to colonial rule of the Republic of South Africa and for independence of its motherland. He expressed gratitude to the CPSU, to the Soviet people for invariable support for the cause of Namibia's national liberation.

The Soviet side confirmed solidarity with SWAPO which is the recognized expressor of the interests of the Namibian people.

The participants in the meeting declared in support of negotiations held by Angola, Cuba, the Republic of South Africa and the United States for purposes of political settlement in South-West Africa. It was emphasized that the ensurance of Angola's security and an equitable solution of the Namibian problem in accordance with the U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 should be the basis of such a settlement. The sides spoke highly of Angola's and Cuba's constructive positions at the talks.

East Europe

Situation in Polish Mining Town Reported

LD1209223588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Yuriy Ulyanov report from Jastrzebie, Poland]

[Text] Today it is impossible to imagine that only a few days ago this mining town of Jastrzebie was once more, like 8 years ago, the center of Polish strikes. The pits stopped work one after the other. Leaders of illegal underground structures gathered from all over the country to orate, daily putting forward more and more fresh demands to the authorities, both of an economic and a political nature. Now the pits are working, albeit not at full strength. It has not yet proved possible to overcome the interruption in the work.

But why has a town with such a short, 25-year history become a hotbed of the strike movement? Perhaps because there is no hereditary working class here, with a developed sense of responsibility for the future of the country. Perhaps because here there is no stadium, no movie theater, no developed infrastructure, although there are 11 churches operating, in one of which a kind of strike headquarters was located.

[Begin recording] [Ulyanov] What is the situation in the mines of your town?

[Coalminer B. Turek, speaking in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] I think it is still difficult, although the strikes have ceased. In the future, to put it frankly, a fresh wave of strikes is possible. The economic difficulties—which incidentally are characteristic of the whole country—are not easy to eliminate. These are: price increases outstripping wage increases, the high rates of inflation, and a depressing lack of housing.

[Ulyanov] And what can be said of the situation in the party?

[Turek] The situation in party organizations gives us some optimism. Although during the strikes of the 1970's the party suffered considerable losses, this time at our mine only one person left the ranks of the PZPR. Now we party members are doing everything to broaden agitation and information work among nonparty members and we believe this activity should produce positive results. [end recording]

CPCZ's Lenart Pays Visit to USSR 5-9 Sep

Lenart, Slyunkov at Seminar

AU0709142588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 88 pp 1, 7

[Report by CTK and RUDE PRAVO correspondent Jan Tihlarik: "A Czechoslovak-Soviet Seminar on Direct Relations Has Begun in Moscow"]

[Text] **Moscow—The conditions of the contemporary CSSR and USSR economic mechanisms still do not force production enterprises to seek, by means of international cooperation and integration, ways toward a cheaper and at the same time qualitatively better production of goods that would be competitive. This is the conclusion that could have been arrived at from the first day of the deliberations of the Czechoslovak-Soviet seminar of directors of engineering enterprises, which began in Moscow on Monday [5 September], attended by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Jindrich Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, was also present.**

Today it is no longer necessary to explain the need for direct production relations, which the whole world is employing within the framework of the advantageous international division of labor. This higher form of cooperation emerges spontaneously, particularly in areas with freely convertible currencies. It facilitates a concentration on specialized production and, by means of the latter's quality, the purchasing of everything else. No country in the world can do without such a division of labor. Thinking in the economy is characterized by seeking all possible ways to achieve higher labor productivity by defining the range and discovering the possibilities of production cooperation on the principle of advantageousness.

In his speech at the seminar, Comrade **Nikolay Slyunkov** said that the Soviet Union sees not only an economic, but also a profound political purpose in the activation of direct cooperation among manufacturers. The subject involves the maximal utilization of the potential of integration at the primary economic component level, as well as the distinct enhancement of mutual collaboration among work collectives and party and social organizations in accelerating qualitative changes in mutual cooperation. Such an approach corresponds to the line of our parties that is aimed at increasing the independence of enterprises, introducing economic accountability and self-financing in foreign exchange, actively implementing economic methods of management, and broadly democratizing economic life.

Soviet-Czechoslovak relations are extensive and rich; they have contributed to ensuring the fuel-energy needs and the needs with regard to machinery and installations, he noted. Today, they are creating conditions for organizing modern large-scale production.

N. Slyunkov further spoke about new forms of mutual collaboration between the CSSR and the USSR, and noted that **until now, more than 300 agreements on direct relations have been concluded between enterprises and other organizations and 3 international associations are functioning, as well as 2 joint laboratories and 14 joint collectives**, which are resolving problems connected with realizing the comprehensive program for scientific-technical progress.

In accordance with the agreement arrived at during the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Milos Jakes, preparations continue for joint enterprises producing antibiotics, which are in short supply, electronic components, furniture, leather footwear, and other goods.

We must say openly that in recent years a considerable number of weighty problems have accumulated which are still being solved only slowly, N. Slyunkov noted. **The extensive model of the division of labor, overwhelmingly based on a simple exchange of goods, has become an impediment to the expansion of mutual trade.**

He said that Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in engineering does not have the necessary standard, **the development of direct relations is slow, and only one-fourth of them pertains to production cooperation**. Unfortunately, machinery, equipment, and technologies that are really reforming production in a revolutionary manner are being developed and introduced to a small extent. A fundamental turnaround can only be achieved through the restructuring of cooperation, relying on specialization and production cooperation within branches.

The USSR fully supports Czechoslovakia's efforts to streamline the structure of the economy in such a way as to reduce the proportion of energy- and labor-intensive products. N. Slyunkov noted that the setting up of consortiums or international cooperatives should not be disregarded when seeking new forms of cooperation. It is necessary to boldly approach the establishment of joint design bureaus, which later could become joint enterprises. Increasing the technical standard and quality of mutually delivered products deserves particular attention, N. Slyunkov stressed. He noted that **only one-third of these products are of a world standard, and another third should be replaced by a new, advanced production in the immediate future.**

Today elements of a common market are being created, and ultimately the market will force us to deliver to one another technological products of a high standard.

Another prerequisite is the constant exchange of experience gained from the development of direct relations and more extensive mutual information about problems connected with them, N. Slyunkov stressed.

Addressing the seminar afterward, Comrade **Jozef Lenart** said that the CPCZ leadership proceeds from the assumption that it will be necessary to radically reform the mechanism of cooperation and develop new future-oriented forms, which should—in the not too distant future—make it possible to establish a common socialist international market. The need to accelerate our development, and also the development in the neighboring capitalist states, underscores the requirement **not to wait until everyone becomes clear about everything. That could be a very expensive loss of time**, which would mean the loss of momentum in the CSSR's social and economic development.

He spoke further about the position of the CSSR as supplier of machinery and equipment, which—compared with other world exporters—has been gradually but steadily weakening in the past 3 decades. We see the subjective cause and our responsibility in the system of management of the economy, which has not been able to exert sufficient pressure to bring about structural changes in Czechoslovak engineering. Our fundamental orientation of sectoral structures remains the outdated postwar concept of "being one of the CEMA countries' smithies." Elements oriented toward the future of technological progress are asserting themselves only slowly.

In the very near future Czechoslovakia wants to win new positions on world markets, markets worthy of Czechoslovak engineering production, J. Lenart stressed. One should not ignore the fact that Czechoslovakia continues to have a number of advantages at its disposal; the majority of its enterprises have good working conditions and over 50 years of production tradition. In the years to come, Czechoslovakia wants to modernize its engineering gradually and selectively. In this respect it counts on the support of its partners, especially in the USSR.

It would be desirable for the Soviet Union to gradually define its demands on Czechoslovak engineering, even though this is going to be difficult, J. Lenart noted. **Czechoslovakia would welcome a Soviet share in the ownership of production enterprises** from which, for example, the USSR is procuring, or intends to procure, more than 30 percent of their total production. What is involved is the closest possible linkage between Czechoslovak producers and the interests of Soviet users, that is, the interest of the Soviet user and consumer in the quality and technological standard of Czechoslovak production.

J. Lenart stressed that the CSSR expects Soviet engineering to increase deliveries in all spheres. This, in particular, applies to the so-called high technologies—the component base of electronics, aviation and nuclear technology, and new materials. The Soviet Union, as practically the sole large economic complex in CEMA, has the necessary resources and means for the development of those productions. Also, information about the intentions of our customers is important.

Cooperation between Soviet and Czechoslovak engineering as producers as well as consumers has undergone a long schooling and has something to link onto. J. Lenart stressed that **it is necessary to approach the prospects of mutual collaboration without stereotypes, in the spirit of new approaches and restructuring**, which our two countries are realizing. **In Czechoslovakia, in that respect, we are reassessing the view of the USSR as the supplier of fuels, energy, and raw materials only, and are counting on it as an important exporter of precision scientific-technical products to the Czechoslovak market.**

The approaches and mechanisms of cooperation within CEMA to date are not up to the needs of the times, the CPCZ Central Committee secretary noted. It is necessary to create stimuli for enterprises' direct contacts; for free movement of experts and goods; for providing scientific-technical, organizational, and managerial services; for a broad utilization of data processing; and so forth. Although the number of direct relations has been increasing, the depth of integration and the economic yields have been small to date. In state bodies we must together speedily eliminate barriers that are impediments to development.

We also must not be afraid to found the so-called international risk companies, oriented—in particular—toward the development and assimilation of new productions and introduction of advanced technologies, in which—in the initial stages—the joint undertaking might be making losses. It is, however, the necessary step toward future profits.

Implementing new forms of supply and demand in the practice of economic cooperation, including joining the international marketing network, and developing production, engineering, and other services, is also objectively necessary. We must create together a political and economic atmosphere of free international, mutually advantageous economic relations, J. Lenart stressed.

Pavel Aleksandrovskiy of the Kazan compressor enterprise which, together with the Prague CKD Kompresory plant, constitutes the Interkompresor joint venture, described this as follows: "We have bright prospects, but a lot of difficulties at present. Some of those are incongruous prices, deadlines of orders for assembly modules, transportation, and similar things." On the other hand, like Jiri Flieger, director of the CKD Prague plant, he praised the better utilization of production assets in that form of cooperation.

Jozef Uhrik, director of the Heavy Engineering Enterprise of Martin, pointed out the longstanding obstacles to mutual production relations—the imbalance in mutual trade relations, the unrealistic rates of exchange of our currencies, and the frequently changing structures of deliveries.

Not everything can be changed through enterprises' own initiative. The central bodies must not pretend knowing nothing about these obstacles. This would be the best way to discredit such highly useful forms of cooperation, which has been employed in the world for a long time; to fill it with formal content, leaving out our countries' economies.

The seminar of directors of Czechoslovak and Soviet engineering enterprises in Moscow will last until Wednesday, 7 September.

Holds Talks in Kiev

AU1209164088 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Sep 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 9 September in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee headquarters a meeting was held with J. Lenart, CPCZ Presidium member and secretary, who was in our country on a working visit, and with the party functionaries who arrived with him. The meeting was attended by B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman; S.I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary; and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Kiev Gorkom first secretary.

The Czechoslovak comrades were briefed on the main lines of activity of the republic's party organizations in implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. J. Lenart gave an account of the work carried out in the CSSR to fulfill the plans for social and economic development drawn up by the 12th CPCZ Congress. During the conversation much attention was paid to the exchange of experience in the pursuit of the CPSU and CPCZ policy aimed at restructuring, profound economic reform, and the democratization of public life. Discussion covered ways to further expand cooperation in accomplishing the tasks set by CEMA member countries in their comprehensive program for scientific-technological progress, to develop direct links among production collectives and scientific organizations, and to create joint enterprises, scientific institutions, and planning bureaus.

The warm and friendly conversation was also attended by Yu.A. Belik, Economic Department deputy chief in the CPSU Central Committee; V.P. Fokin, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and Gosplan chairman; A.V. Merkulov and A.P. Savchenko, department chiefs in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; J. Husar, O. Kvaka, and P. Sadovsky, department deputy chiefs in the CPCZ Central Committee; J. Machaj, CSSR trade representative in the USSR; M. Kovac, CSSR consul general in Kiev; and other Czechoslovak comrades.

Visits Kiev Enterprises

LD0809220988 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] The Czechoslovak party delegation, led by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart, which is on a friendly visit to the USSR, today toured the (Yevgeniy Paton) electric welding unit at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. At a meeting with the unit's representatives, wider cooperation with our research and production organizations was discussed; for example, cooperation with the Bratislava welding research institute.

Comrade Jozef Lenart also visited the (Sergey Korolev) production association which produces various types of computers. He was interested in problems connected with the creation of prizes for top products.

Departs for Home

LD0909171388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1517 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep (TASS)—Jozef Lenart, Presidium member and CPCZ Central Commitee secretary, who was in the USSR on a working visit, departed today from Kiev for his homeland.

During his stay in Kiev he had discussions in the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee and familiarized himself with the work of a number of production associations and scientific establishments.

PRAVDA Cites Jakes on Restructuring

PM1309091188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On the Eve of the Anniversary"]

[Text] Prague, 10 Sep—The party rates highly the contribution of the membership of more than 700,000 scientists, engineers, technicians, inventors, and rationalizers to the cause of restructuring the economic mechanism and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, emphasized at the Seventh Congress of the Czechoslovak Scientific and Technical Society, which opened in the CSSR capital today.

Dwelling on tasks in the sphere of introducing scientific discoveries and achievements into practice, the speaker emphasized that this cannot be done alone today. This is why the further deepening of scientific and technical cooperation, collaboration, and integration within the CEMA framework is of great significance for Czechoslovakia.

Restructuring both here and in the Soviet Union is creating new changes which are favorable to the further flowering of science. The decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference have opened up broad horizons for restructuring and democratization in the life of society. I would like to emphasize that we, in Czechoslovakia, fully support the course of revolutionary changes being pursued by the CPSU. Following the example of Soviet Communists, the CPCZ is seeking to accelerate the process of social change, proceeding here from national conditions. As practice shows, the successes of our economic and social development directly depend on the introduction of scientific and technical achievements into life. Precisely this is our weakness and one of the reasons why the efficiency of our national economy is growing only slowly.

In conclusion M. Jakes emphasized the importance of the favorable changes in the international situation for the socialist community's development and the growth of its economic, scientific, and technical potential. These changes have been made possible thanks to the new political thinking being implemented by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. However, it should not be forgotten that the socialist community countries' comprehensive approach to the problems of disarmament and the strengthening of international security provokes resistance from those forces which would like to revive the atmosphere of mistrust and confrontation and to use the process of democratization in the socialist countries to weaken socialism. Therefore, we see the path of our further socialist development lying in close cooperation and alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The correctness of this orientation is confirmed by the historical experience of Czechoslovakia's peoples.

GDR-USSR Moscow Meeting on Nuclear Energy

AU0809153188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—In Moscow, 2-day deliberations between the GDR and the USSR on the further deepening of the exchange of information and experience in the area of keeping the peaceful use of nuclear energy under control ended on Tuesday [6 September]. The talks held by Prof Georg Sitzlack, state secretary and president of the GDR State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection, with Igor Belousov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, Nikolay Lukonin, minister of atomic power, Vadim Malyshev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Safety in the Atomic Power Industry, and Aleksandr Protsenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, proceeded in a constructive atmosphere. Problems regarding the protection of man and the environment from the dangers of radiation and the safety of nuclear facilities were discussed in particular.

West Europe

Shevardnadze, Mock Sign Nuclear Agreements

LD1209210088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Talks took place today between Comrade Shevardnadze and Vice Chancellor Mock, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Austria. The guest is paying an official visit to our country at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

The ministers expressed satisfaction at the stability and progressive nature of the diverse ties and contacts, and the rich content of the political dialogue between the two countries.

The same day an agreement was signed on prompt notification of a nuclear accident and on exchanging information on nuclear installations. The document was signed by Comrade Shevardnadze and Alois Mock. Present at the signing were, on the Soviet side, Antonov and Silayev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; Shikin, USSR ambasador in Austria; and other officials. On the Austrian side were Grubmayer, Austrian ambasador in the USSR, and the officials accompanying Alois Mock.

The same day Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze gave a luncheon in honor of Alois Mock. The sides exchanged speeches, the texts of which will be published in the press.

Protocol Signed With Finland on Road Transport

LD1009044788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1446 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep (TASS)—Accords at the talks which ended here today create the prerequisites for an expansion of road transport between the Soviet Union and Finland. The two sides have opened up the possibility for each to make the necessary number of trips through the other country's territory in 1989 for the development of trade and tourism.

Great attention was paid at the talks to the transportation of equipment and materials for the installations being built and modernized in the USSR with the involvement of Finnish firms. Road transport in particular is now being used to deliver freight from Finland for an enterprise producing video recorders in Voronezh (in the center of the European part of the USSR) and for a hotel in Leningrad.

It was noted at the signing of the protocol on the talks that mutual freight transportation along the highways is marked by high volume and stability. The transport organizations of the two countries have established close

contacts, which has made it possible to set up joint freight lines and to provide for the transportation between Finnish and Soviet cities of over 8,000 tourists annually.

Falin Comments on Soviet Germans, Arms

LD0909174088 Hamburg DPA in German 1250 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Saarbruecken/Bonn (DPA)—Valentin Falin, the Soviet expert on German affairs, understands the desire of the 2.2 million or so Soviet Germans for more rights. A solution to this problem is possible in the forseeable future, Falin said on Saarland Radio on Friday. He sees the creation of a new autonomous territory. The USSR has no interest in losing "these diligent people." Many Soviet Germans were forcibly moved to Asia from the independent Volga Republic in 1941.

The former ambassador to Bonn added that the USSR wants to make conventional disarmament the main topic of talks during Federal Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow in October. The USSR is ready for any weapons and troop reductions based on equality. Falin did not rule out a joint German-Soviet declaration on conventional disarmament if Bonn were interested. A joint space flight project is also within the realm of possibility.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Proposes Guatemala Meeting With Contras

LD1009162588 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Managua September 10 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has suggested holding a preliminary meeting with contra leaders in Guatemala September 19-20 to discuss the resumption of peace talks in the Nicaraguan capital.

Victor Hugo Tinoco, deputy foreign affairs minister of Nicaragua, would represent his government at the Guatemalan meeting if the counterrevolutionary leaders accepted the proposal to hold it, Ortega told a public meeting here Friday celebrating the 10th anniversary of establishing the Sandinista committees for the defence of the revolution.

The Guatemalan Government has given its consent to holding the meeting.

The Sandinist leadership would heed all the demands the contra leaders may have, as they are opposed to Managua as the venue for future talks with Nicaraguan Government representatives on a final ceasefire, the president said.

But, he noted, the idea to conduct those talks in Managua had previously come from the contras.

Ortega also welcomed a new meeting of the presidents of the Central American nations, as there was nothing to impede that meeting at the moment.

He said the presidents could meet late next October in El Salvador to monitor adherence to the Guatemala accords by the countries in the region and map out ways of stabilizing the situation in Central America.

U.S. Reportedly Violating Panama Canal Treaties

PA1109003088 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Commentary by Aleksandr Barishev]

[Text] As soon as the Panama Canal Treaties were ratified, talk began in Washington about how the treaties were unfavorable to the United States because they do not establish the possibility of armed U.S. intervention in the event of a threat to the canal.

From the moment that the canal treaties went into effect, the U.S. Administration has done everything possible to prevent the fulfillment of [words indistinct] and to maintain its military presence [words indistinct]. In the years since [words indistinct] regarding the Panama Canal.

[Words indistinct] current President Reagan, who firmly opposed the signing of the treaties [words indistinct]. When the Reagan administration took office, the violations of the canal treaties became systematic. The [word indistinct] first of all refer to the Panama Canal's permanent neutrality, which is established in one of the two treaties. This document declared it a permanently neutral international interoceanic waterway.

Nevertheless, judging from everything that has happened, for the U.S. Administration that document is just a worthless piece of paper. By reducing the allocations to maintain the canal in good condition and the [word indistinct] services, the administration has begun to increase spending for the modernization of the military bases in the canal area, where the United States maintains [words indistinct] biggest south of the Rio Grande [words indistinct]. Contrary to the policy of neutrality with regard to the canal, U.S. Air Force planes on U.S. bases in Panama carry out reconnaissance flights over Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In the current critical Central American situation, these types of violations of the neutrality policy are particularly dangerous. Military officials [words indistinct] declare a state of alert to [words indistinct]. What occurs in Panama is not only a Panamanian problem. The future of all Central America and the future of U.S.-Latin American relations depend to a great extent on the results of the battle over the canal.

Consultations Held With Mexico on UN Session

LD1109132688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0755 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Mexico City, 11 Sep (TASS)—Mexican-Soviet political consultations about issues facing the 43d session of the UN General Assembly have taken place in the capital of Mexico.

Taking part in the consultations on the Soviet side were special envoy O.A. Grinevskiy and R.A. Sergeyev, the USSR's ambassador to Mexico. On the Mexican side were V. Flores Olea, deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

Kuzmin Appointed New Ambassador to Brazil

LD1109162688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0948 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Leonid Kuzmin ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the the Federal Republic of Brazil.

Leonid Kuzmin was born in 1930. He has been in diplomatic work since 1952 after graduating from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry. From 1968-1972 he was counsellor-envoy at the USSR Embassy in the Federal Republic of Brazil; from 1972-1975 an expert and deputy chief of the Latin American Countries Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry; from 1975-1983 the USSR's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Peru; from 1983-1986 deputy chief of the Second Latin American Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry affairs; and from 1986 head of that same department.

Briefs

Cuban Transportation Delegation

A delegation of Cuban transportation workers led by Diocles Torralba, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Cuban transportation minister, is visiting our country. During its stay in Moscow businesslike meetings and conversations were held at the USSR Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of the Merchant Marine, the Ministry of Motor Transportation, and a number of other departments. A discussion of urgent problems was held at the USSR Ministry of Railways. A memorandum and a treaty were signed on the establishment of scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR Ministry of Railways and Cuba's Ministry of Transportation in the sphere of rail transportation. These documents outline specific plans aimed at intensifying, modernizing, and raising the productivity of Cuba's railways. They stipulate the dates for the delivery of equipment and rendering technical assistance in the construction of a locomotive and railcar depot at San Wuis and in restoring a bridge that was destroyed by a hurricane. Assistance also will be given in the training of qualified cadres. There is provision for the reciprocal exchange of information. [Summary] [*LD0809024288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2210 GMT 7 Sep 88*]

Political & Social

Gorbachev Travels to Krasnoyarsk 12 Sep

LD1209093488 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 12 Sep 88

["Urgent—Mikhail Gorbachev Leaves for Krasnoyarsk"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 12 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has today left Moscow for Krasnoyarsk, a city in east Siberia.

Trips across the USSR by the Soviet leader have become a tradition after the April plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee (1985). Their aim is to familiarise himself first hand with the situation in some or other region of the country, to discuss the most important questions of perestroyka not only with the local soviet, economic and party executives, but also with common working people.

In the course of his working visits in this country, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has put forward a number of most important foreign policy initiatives. That was the case, for example, in the summer of 1986 in Vladivostok (the Soviet Far East) or in October 1987 in Murmansk, in the north west of the USSR.

The current trip is Mikhail Gorbachev's second visit to Siberia. Previously, in September 1985, he visited Tyumen (west Siberia), a centre of the country's oil and gas industry.

Mikhail Gorbachev's trip to Krasnoyarsk and meetings with Siberians will be held at a time when in the focus of attention of the whole work done by the CPSU is the outlining of ways to implement the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference. Krasnoyarsk is east Siberia's biggest city. It was founded in 1628 as a military fortification. Before the Great October Revolution of 1917 it was a place of political exile. V.I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, was in exile in the village of Shushenskoye near Krasnoyarsk late last century.

The most important branches there are the mechanical engineering and chemical industries. The city is a big research centre with more than 20 projecting research and design institutions, seven institutions of higher learning.

Krasnoyarsk Area Described

LD1209113888 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Krasnoyarsk, Eastern Siberia September 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Khots:

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived here today.

He was welcomed at the airport by Oleg Shenin, first secretary of the Krasnoyarsk territory committee of the CPSU, Valeriy Sergiyenko, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Krasnoyarsk territory Soviet of People's Deputies, and members of the Krasnoyarsk territory party committee.

Krasnoyarsk, the largest city in eastern Siberia with nearly one million inhabitants, is 360 years old. Situated on the banks of the Yenisey, a river with the largest run-off in the Soviet Union, it is the capital of a territory occupying one-tenth of the country.

The Yenisey is the Krasnoyarsk territory's main "street" which has been used by pioneers moving to settle polar areas. And even today, in the aviation age, most northerners prefer to return home from summer vacations by liner rather than plane.

It takes a ship five days to travel the more than 2,000 kilometers from the spurs of the Sayan Mountains in the south to the icy Kara Sea washing Taimyr Peninsula in the north.

But the great Siberian river is not only a most useful waterway used to carry more than 256 million tons of freight over the yearly seven months of navigation.

It features the Soviet Union's biggest hydroelectric projects—the six-million-kilowatt Krasnoyarsk hydro and the 6.4-million-kilowatt Sayano-Shushenskaya one.

The latter has become the energizing heart for an industrial complex under construction in the Khakass autonomous region. The regional capital, Abakan, has a major engineering factory producing containers used both in this country and in a number of other states.

One hundred kilometers from Abakan the Sayany aluminium works, an ecologically clean factory being built jointly with foreign firms, has put its first facilities into operation.

Mutually beneficial cooperation with foreign partners is not a one-way street for Siberians. Achievements by Krasnoyarsk scientists are recognized in many countries. This is borne out by a vast amount of correspondence maintained between reseachers from local scientific institutes and their colleagues abroad.

Tsunami wave warning maps compiled at the Krasnoyarsk computing center are used in many Pacific nations.

The Krasnoyarsk territory's second largest conurbation is Norilsk, the world's biggest polar city. With a population of over 250,000, it is also the area's second most important industrial center.

The Yenisey has more than once served the scene of action for characters from books by well-known Soviet writer Viktor Astafyev whose works are known in dozens of countries.

He has been born on the river, in a small village near Krasnoyarsk. He has become popular with his readers not only because of his talented books but also because of his active involvement in the mass environmentalist movement.

Industrialization has caused damage to the Krasnoyarsk territory as well and Astafyev is among those who believe that until it is too late, man's pressure on the Yenisey must be stopped and the great Siberian river left to succeeding generations clean and beautiful.

Gorbachev Walkabout Reported

LD1209170488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1405 GMT 12 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Krasnoyarsk by special correspondent A. Tikhomirov]

[Text] We have so often used the word heroism concerning the first builders and the first to inhabit this region that normal life, without deprivation and without the absence of what is really vital, began to seem insignificant and not worth remarking on. And here is the result: Virtually none of the integrated long-term programs for development of Krasnoyarsk Kray have been implemented in truly integrated fashion. Alongside the gigantomania in the construction of mines, factories, and works, the social infrastructure, the development of housing, and the provision of food have often appeared like pygmies. And however much some people might like to avoid real sharpness in talking about simple, human, everyday life and affairs, however grandiose the figures and production reports might sound, this is precisely what people started talking to the general secretary about when he made his first stop on the way from the airport to Krasnoyarsk. [video shows Gorbachev surrounded by crowd, accompanied by Raisa Gorbacheva and an unidentified man. Encounter begins with many people in the crowd shouting out comments mostly lost in general hubbub, including remarks about a local grain elevator and shops] This conversation took place near the village of Yemelyanovo:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified man in crowd] ...nothing, there's nothing; you cannot even have a wash where you want to.

[Gorbachev] And that is in the region where there is the most water.

[Unidentified woman in crowd] But not hot water!

[Unidentified man in crowd] So it is probably the region where there are the most complaints then [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Okay, comrades, I sense your mood, and what it is concerned with. It is such a vast region, and an important one for the country. The money is so immense, tens of billions of rubles have been directed here over 12 years, tens of billions of rubles to one kray. And it turns out that the proportion....

[Unidentified voice from crowd, interrupting] But there has been no return on it.

[Gorbachev] I will make it all clear when I get going. If you take a look, then it turns out that the proportion of that money that is directed to housing, to schools, to facilities for children, is less than in other regions. And that is in Siberia, where a new region is being opened up. It is not right. We have to put it right. And I see that what you keep saying, as it happens, comes to...

[Unidentified man in crowd, interrupting] It won't happen.

[Gorbachev] What won't happen?

[Man] What you are talking about won't happen.

[Gorbachev] Things being put right, you mean?

[Man] Do you think it is me alone?

[Gorbachev] No, that is not what it is all about. As it happens, I was pointing out, while analyzing the kray's development over the last decade and a half, that a lot of money has come from the state to here, and not just in the rural areas. You are talking about the rayon center, the village here, as far as I understand it. But it turns out that in the places where there is rapid development of natural riches, too, where there is construction—such as the Kansk-Achinsk basin—social development is lagging behind there as well. And that is not tolerable. Now, the way it has turned out is that the capacities have been built, but who is to work at them? We need people. Without people, and the facilities for them, we will get nowhere.

[Man] So it is us that is to blame?

[Gorbachev] No, no, no.

[Man] Of course not.

[Gorbachev] No, no, you cannot be blamed for this. There are things we must say to you. These must be said as well, but not this, this is not to do with you. I think even, that to some extent, the kray officials are to blame, because they did not really sound the alarm, as they say. But all the same, it is the center that is to blame, the planning bodies and the ministries. That is, they wanted to (?have) the capacities as soon as possible, to make their report and say they had done their bit. But what can we do with these capacities if there are no people? That is a dead issues.

[Man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, will they show everything on television, or will they cut half of it out? Tell us honestly.

[Gorbachev] All of it, all of it [words indistinct, with everyone speaking at once] They will show it. I don't give the orders in television [words indistinct, with everyone speaking at once] [end recording]

Talks Further With Public

LD1209173588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Nikolay Neych and Lyudmila Semina dispatch from Krasnoyarsk]

[Excerpt] [Neych] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, was met with flowers by the representatives of the city, its party and local soviet leaders, veterans, young people, Komsomol members, and pioneers who had gathered at the airport.

On the way into the city, Mikhail Sergeyevich made a stop and met with residents of the rayon center of Yemelyanovo. A very interesting and pointed conversation about the kray's problems, of which there are many, took place here. We will transmit a recording of this conversation in our programs.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrived in the city and laid flowers at the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

[Semina] Thousands upon thousands of people of Krasnoyarsk had gathered at the Lenin Monument in the city center. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev laid some flowers. On a large pedestal there is a figure of Ilich, and it is written: (?To Lenin from the people of Krasnoyarsk, 1970). And now, a conversation with residents of Krasnoyarsk:

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I stopped and visited this monument and conversed with the people of Krasnoyarsk on the other side. Then I looked around the House of Science and Technology. It had everything [words indistinct] I cannot remember everything I saw. That was one-half a day [words indistinct]. This region is three times as large as France, is it not? [Words indistinct]. There are 500 there, and you have 2 million.

[Man] 2.4 million.

[Gorbachev] As much as 2.4 million? So it's five times as big as France! How do you feel? [many people laugh, speak at the same time] So you don't have any problems?

[Unidentified individual] Come and visit our...

[Second unidentified individual, interrupting] Many problems...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] So we stopped there and chatted. Then I said, you know, we must go to Krasnoyarsk while it's sunny. But we have already had a good chat in Krasnoyarsk, to the point of problems, vital ones. But I think in the next few days there will be more meetings and talks. What do you have to say to me?

[Unidentified woman] May you have a bit more health for all your deeds, for all your good deeds.

[Gorbachev] You know, this is how I think, there really are great deeds to be done. But it's a matter of my health and yours. If we put everything together, then things will be all right.

[Unidentified woman] As long as you have your health, we also have ours.

[Gorbachev] Not bad.

[Unidentified man] Thank you, all the best.

[Gorbachev] As they say, knock on wood, I'm not complaining. [laughter] [end recording]

[Semina] The nearly 1 million-strong city of Krasnoyarsk came out onto the streets and squares. Interesting conversations are going on about the kray's problems, the country's problems, and the fate of restructuring. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev promised to visit not only this city but the north and south of the huge Krasnoyarsk Kray as well. [passage omitted]

Calls for Greater Reform

LD1209193188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today arrived in Krasnoyarsk. Comrade Gorbachev laid flowers at the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin and also at the Eternal Flame and the monument to those who fell in the struggle for Soviet power. Talks were held between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the city's working people. Our special correspondents report from Krasnoyarsk:

[Passage omitted] There has been talk of a return to the Leninist principles both of management and of interpersonal relations. Mikhail Sergeyevich became quite animated when he heard from the townsfolk that things are moving. In some places financial autonomy is proving a success, elsewhere lease contracting is yielding tangible results. He rejoiced in all signs of the new ways. They were interesting meetings. Just listen to a recording of one of them:

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] What kind of mood are you in?

[Crowd] Good.

[Gorbachev] So you don't have any problems?

[Crowd] There are problems. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] So we stopped there and chatted. Then I said, you know, we must go to Krasnoyarsk while it's sunny. But we have already had a good chat in Krasnoyarsk, to the point, about problems, vital ones. But I think in the next few days there will be more meetings and talks. The main thing is for you to believe in our policies and in the leadership that is now up and coming, that is being formed. It has not yet been finally formed. And at the level of the oblasts, the republics, and the rayons at the moment, well, life is advancing, restructuring. It is making necessary corrections.

But, comrades, who mentions the question of faith? Not blind faith, no, that's not what is needed. We would like this faith to be founded on the fact that we have drawn up this policy, based on the wishes of the people and on the real situation our people live in, so that it might be to the liking of the people. But just observe how things got more difficult when we started to push this policy through, how things got watered down. In the party, in the soviets, in any labor collective, in school, in creative organizations, among writers, among other categories of the intelligentsia, and among retirees. Everywhere debates are in progress, because now that restructuring is under way, now that we have gotten together at rallies and thrashed out what we have to do in this society, now that we have started wanting to understand our country, in order to know its ailments and the problems that have built up...[changes thought] Yes, we have all been very active, and a responsible analysis was required, a serious analysis, in order not to make a mistake in electing a policy. This was an important stage. We could simply have swam with the current, and nothing would have happened.

Just the same, this stage was necessary. But the stage did begin. Now each of us is affected by the policy, all comrades are affected. This is without any...[changes thought] I'm not saying this just for effect. There is no getting away from it, we have to restructure ourselves in the Central Committee and in the government.

Most certainly we do! And then there is Gosplan, the ministries, and official departments—do you have any idea how (?hard it is for things to advance there)? And then there is reform—it has not started functioning properly yet! It is only starting! We have only been working for 6 months on financial autonomy in one-half of the economy. The remainder has yet to go over, and is preparing for this. So there's worse to come!

But what is the reform? It will put the ministries in their proper place, it will put the Gosplan in its proper place, and it will put us in our places too. We have this desire, where things are difficult, where something isn't going right, to give out orders right away, to put the squeeze on people, to give them a fright. Then it all starts over again. We must, all the same, let people get used to the new working conditions, let them comprehend their rights and their role. These things are going on, and it is not easy to understand them. It turns out that many cadres have gotten used to... [changes thought] Why? What is to be done? Tell me, what is to be done?

You requested the rights. How many years on all the rostrums, especially in the first stages of restructuring, did you advocate this? Give us the rights [word indistinct], and we gave the rights. Now we will not be setting plan tasks for you, we are giving you control figures as a guideline, and you provide a response, on the basis of these figures. You work out your own plans. The state order will be such and such—you know what happened with the state orders this year, you have certainly heard about it. And the most interesting thing is that now we cannot, you understand, beat off requests from managers who want us to set state orders for them 100 percent.

And why? Well, they say: My friend! If there's a state order, I know that the Gosplan will be following it up, there will be Gossnab behind it. Relations between enterprises have still not been established, comrades, and they are afraid that if it is simply on the basis of contracts, everything will go awry, everything will crack up, come apart, and the plans will be upset. These fears, it would seem, well, are vital ones, because it is connected with the fact that people have become unaccustomed to making decisions independently. They are afraid of taking any risk, and most importantly, of starting on something new, in case it goes wrong.

[Unidentified man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we Siberians of Krasnoyarsk [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] You know, we are very interested in the kray developing as much as possible. Many excesses have been permitted here, permitted first and foremost, all the same, through the fault of the center, for the most part. What do you have to tell me?

[Crowd] We will implement! We will work.

[Gorbachev] Come on, come on, come on, come on, you can see better here, you are closer. What it is particularly necessary? What in particular has to be taken into account?

Krasnoyarsk Kray is perhaps unique, in all respects. Both in terms of nature, in terms of its riches, in terms of the happy combination of the natural riches of the forest, the rivers, and the soil. One has to, one has to make sure not to allow what has now begun to manifest itself with the water and the soil and the forest and the air. You see this, this has to be corrected. The cauldron has begun to bubble. The whole cauldron of the Union has begun to bubble. Some have already begun to lose their way in this boiling. There is no need to lose your way in this boiling, comrades. I think that even more serious surprises yet

await us. There is no need to lose your way, no need. We are on the right track, comrades. We are on the right track. We must not flounder. We must not. If we do, we will get lost.

[Unidentified man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we have many problems. But look into everyone's eyes and then look into their hearts: No one is losing his head. They know just how the tasks stand. Well, the veterans of the (?Zheleznodorozhniy) district of the city asked to convey to you well-being on our soil. (?Well), and then, you yourself will have a look (?and take stock). We want you to take this restructuring further, to the end. We believe in it.

[Gorbachev] Is that the general view?

[Crowd] General, yes, that's right.

[Gorbachev] Comrades! We will not stand still. [applause] [end recording]

Meets With Veterans, Public

LD1309001588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondent's report from Krasnoyarsk on Gorbachev's 12 September arrival and walkabout]

[Excerpts] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev started his visit to Krasnoyarsk Kray today. Our special correspondent's report:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] This is the moment of arrival at Krasnoyarsk airport. Shenin, first secretary of the kraykom; members of the kraykom bureau; and representatives of labor collectives met Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Unidentified woman] Welcome to the town.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. [video cuts to show Gorbachev addressing a group of veterans]

[Gorbachev] Well, what do veterans think about our time? You are watching how things are, are you not?

[Unidentified man] Yes, we are watching, of course. And it is all right.

[Gorbachev] All right?

[Man] All right.

[Gorbachev] We should carry on, right?

[Man] By all means we should carry on.

[Gorbachev] We should.

[Man] Yes, we should.

[Gorbachev] It does not come easy, you can already see this, right?

[Man] Absolutely.

[Unidentified woman] (?It is a novel undertaking).

[Gorbachev] Well, there is no need to tell veterans what turn things may take here.

[Man] Of course. This is a very necesary and timely thing, in my view.

[Gorbachev] Well, we'll have a chat. Over these days we'll have a chat. I have long wanted to come to your kray, a huge kray, comrades, a huge, important kray. And hence...

[Unidentified woman, interrupting] [Words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] I want to see a bit in the south, to fly to the north, and of course to see Krasnoyarsk—as long as time will allow. So, I think I will be here for 1 week yet.

[Unidentified woman] Our city is not bad. [laughter from crowd]

[Unidentified man] And thank you. You will be in Krasnoyarsk for a while. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] In this way, in the very first hour of the visit to Krasnoyarsk region, the most important things which have to be discussed and rectified immediately became clear. That is life and its flow, natural as that of the Yenisey. [video shows a highway and a river]

At the town's central square, Mikhail Sergeyevich laid flowers at the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin. [passage omitted]

Flowers were also laid at the eternal flame by the monument to revolutionaries who fell fighting for Soviet power.

The conversation in the streets of the town did not omit the question of cooperatives, of the new things that are gaining ground more and more in our life. Krasnoyarsk people, like many inhabitants of other regions of the country, are worried by high prices. [video shows Gorbachev speaking to crowd, with Raisa to his right]

[Gorbachev] You know what it is.

[Unidentified woman] Yes.

[Gorbachev] I think this—especially regarding the cooperatives for catering—with the same resources they produce too expensive things.

[Woman] It's upsetting.

[Gorbachev] You know, what I think is that when there are more cooperatives for services, when there are more cooperatives for goods, when there are more cooperatives for construction, when there are more cooperatives for repair services and so on, and finally, when cooperatives take over entire enterprises and when this grows and there are more and more, then naturally competition begins. But now they are emerging on their own; they are grabbing these pickings. You have requirements and demand just begging for this moment.

But I think that our financial policy, our economic policy, should take this into account and stand firm, stand firm. True, as soon as we submitted this law of progressive taxation there was an uproar—scientists made an uproar, cooperatives made an uproar. We gathered them together recently in the government. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov spent all day with them discussing the problem. You know, they could not come to an agreement in 1 day. The scientists and cooperatives asked for more time, as did our government representatives, and they are sitting and working at it. All the same, this is how it looks. There are cooperatives, you know, which provide repair services; they provide some help in other ways. I think they should have a different tax.

[Woman] Yes.

[Gorbachev] But if they grab the pickings, you know, they should have a cast iron tax—no tricks. After all, it is socialism, not capitalism. But a way should be found so as not to stifle initiative, comrades.

[Unidentified man] State enterprises must be given leasing...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] And state enterprises. We have already begun this. We have already begun.

[Man] The Komsomol. Very soon the Komsomol [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Right! There is a problem. But I view it—this cooperative problem—this way: We must act so that this movement can organically plug into our common struggle, so that there should be no environment for parasitic elements. That is the main thing.

[Unidentified man] What about the newspapers? [Words indistinct] but there are already some difficulties in this respect. Editors sometimes give out unchecked facts in the newspapers. And [words indistinct] the people read it and might not understand it correctly.

[Gorbachev] You know, I would say this: We need glasnost. We are all for it. We need openness. We are all for that. We need to know what is going on in the country, the kray, or the republic. All that is necessary. Then, we need criticism of inadequacies. There is a bit too little self-criticism. But I think little by little you will start indulging in self-criticism, and we will be doing the same. So, all this is needed. But how should it be covered? How should it be covered? Truthfulness is needed. That is all.

[Unidentified speaker] Truthfulness, facts.

[Second unidentified speaker] But if the newspapers do not...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] They say... [changes thought] Well what do they write about this? You tell me. Does it exist in real life? It does. Then there's nothing I can say. It has to be written about, so that our defects may be known and seen, and so that they may be treated and eliminated. But when the press prints articles where, first, the facts are twisted, and where there is a lightweight treatment of major issues, and where—and this is especially intolerable—it starts to offend people...

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Innocent people...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I will tell you this: Even if that person has committed some crime—after all, everything must be done according to the law—but, you see, when it happens in such a way that it offends the person's dignity, then that is no good. This is the way I think it should be, understand, and in no other way.

[Unidentified man] You've seen what happens here. The soviet of the labor collective got to the bottom of things, imposed punishments, for instance, sorted everything out—and then the editor raised the whole issue again and it all came up again. The editor acts as if he is representing an official organ: That's a very weighty thing, and people of course believe him. But we in the factory don't know what to do with ourselves. That's the sort of problem we have.

[Gorbachev] Well, I don't think that you and I are in any disagreement over the fact that openness is necessary, glasnost is necessary. But it must be based upon our values, it must be everything that serves socialism and the people. Whoever wants to use glasnost to slip us anything like that, from outside or anywhere at all, that won't suit us at all and it won't get through.

Well, so we are getting closer to answering your question—what will the results of my trip be, then? [video shows Gorbachev turning to same man] Well, I should, of course, like them to be...

[Unidentified woman, interrupting] Positive...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Yes, positive, and I will proceed in such a way as to help the kray somehow and give it backing, and in the next 5-year period very seriously to turn things in such a way as to change the way that development funds are allocated, laying stress on housing, amenities, and all that sort of thing.

[Unidentified man] And health care establishments, too.

[Unidentified woman] Just visit the station, do!

[Unidentified woman] What are your instructions? I carry out Mikhail Sergeyevich's instructions!

[Gorbachev] A writer, Viktor Petrovich Astafyev, came to see me and he told me—and I will tell you the secret, I don't think he'll take offense; he's a man with a real Russian soul—so he says to me, well now Mikhail Sergeyevich, so what about our health care, then? I'll give you a simple example just to show you. The thing was, his daughter was about to give birth to a baby—and just listen, there was a line for the maternity home! What do you think of that then, a line for the maternity home! She was due to give birth. That is, there's a tough problem even with maternity homes, with medicine.

Well, after that conversation I had a chat with Oleg Semenovich [Shenin, first secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Kraykom]. Oleg Semenovich, I said, you've got a new kraykom building there, it's being built at party expense. You just have a look and see if you can't make do with the old building. So we agreed that the kraykom would stay in the old building, and the new one would be used as a medical establishment. And that's how it should be, more offices must be squeezed up and handed over for what is needed first and foremost: for trade, for health care, for the service sphere. All this must be boosted now.

[Unidentified man] We have to put new facilities into use as soon as possible.

[Unidentified woman] The hospitals are bad...

[Unidentified man, interrupting] We don't go barefoot, you know!

[Gorbachev] Well, to look at you all, one would not say anything bad. [laughter] You look very, um...

[Unidentified woman, interrupting] We're a sturdy lot, we Siberians, hardy we are!

[Gorbachev] I'm glad of it! You look it, too, and not just that, you've got character!

[Unidentified woman] I'm glad to see you!

[Gorbachev] Thank you.

[Unidentified man] We've waited a long time for you.

[Unidentified woman] Do come and see us more often! [end recording]

'Personnel Changes' Reported

LD1209202388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1924 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, September 12 (TANJUG)—Soviet Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev today announced more personnel changes at all levels, including the government and the Central Committee.

Speaking directly with the people in Krasnoyarsk, the center of eastern Siberia, Gorbachev said further personnel changes were necessary in the country for the faster implementation of the policy of perestroyka.

Gorbachev again underscored that publicity of work and democratization of society are necessary along the road towards this goal.

Views Restructuring, Glasnost

LD1309120388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2110 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Krasnoyarsk, Eastern Siberia, 13 Sep (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Krasnoyarsk, the largest city of eastern Siberia, on 12 September.

His meetings with Siberians began in the very first minutes of his visit. Representatives of various work collectives and residents of the city spoke out in support of the party's course and also asked about unresolved problems in the fields of agriculture and industry and the social sphere.

It is not surprising that at the first meeting with the people of Krasnoyarsk peasants' concerns were singled out from among the many urgent concerns of an enormous kray, stretching from the Sayan [Mountains] to the Arctic Ocean. These were discussed during a brief stop on the way to Krasnoyarsk with the inhabitants of the settlement of Yemelyanovo, the center of a major agricultural area.

Mikhail Gorbachev said: "When analyzing the development of the territory over the past 15 years I noted that much money has been spent here by the state. The funds went not only to the countryside, for example, to your district center, but also to areas where rapid development of natural resources is in progress. Social development lags behind everywhere. This is impermissible. To some extent, this is the fault of territorial bodies. They did not really sound the alarm, as it were, in view of such a state of affairs. The center, planning agencies, and ministries are also to blame. They hurried to introduce production capacities and to report that. But what is the worth of these capacities without people? This is the main question. Therefore we have put forward the task of resolving the housing problem by the year 2000. We

have now granted great privileges to cooperative construction, with a long-term credit for individual housing construction, too. and people readily responded to that."

Siberians waited for Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival. Thousands of Krasnoyarsk residents went into the streets and squares of the city after hours. In particular many people came to Revolution Square, and each of them hoped to speak to the general secretary about the most important things.

Mikhail Gorbachev laid flowers at the monument to Lenin and at the Eternal Flame near the monument to those who fell in the struggle for Soviet power.

The Soviet leader addressed a group of Siberians who came to the square. "The main thing now," he said, "is for you to believe in our policy and in the leadership which is now being formed. Life and restructuring are also putting forward the question of belief. It must be based on the understanding that we have built this policy proceeding from the wishes of people and the real situation of their life."

Look how complicated the matter is now that we have begun implementing this policy. When we were holding meetings and explaining what we had to do in society, when we wanted to understand our country to know its ailments, we were all very active. This was an important and necessary stage. But now a new stage has begun. The policy now affects everyone. For the first half-year, half the economy has been working on financial autonomy. The reform puts the ministry and Gosplan in their places, and puts us in our place, too. We very much want to impose order at once where it is difficult, where something is not right. Yet it is necessary to allow the people to assimilate the new conditions of work and to gain an understanding of their rights and role. This understanding is not coming easily. It turns out that many cadres have become used to being told what to do. On all the platforms, particularly during the first stages of restructuring, they were urging: Give us rights. Now the rights have been granted. We say: We finalize plan tasks for you, we shall give control figures as a guide, and on the basis of those figures work out your own plans. The state requirement will be such-and-such.

What happens with state requirements this year? We are now overwhelmed with requests from managers for state requirements to be set 100 percent. Why? They say, if it is a state requirement, then Gosplan and Gossnab will be keeping track of it. But if it is on the basis of a contract, it will all go to pot, the plans will not be met. People have gotten out of the habit of making decisions independently. They are afraid of taking risks, and the main thing is they are afraid of starting anything new.

There is much criticism of various sections of management—at ministry, republic, and oblast level; at town level; and even at enterprise level. They are right to criticize, with certain exceptions, when the criticism includes an element of insult or demagogy. When great deeds are being done, it is not shouting that is needed, comrades. There are still times when our discussions are not a matter of knowing the facts and having the arguments to hand, but of who shouts down whom.

A great responsibility now rests with the cadres. Reports and elections are now in progress. We need to see who is worth what. Take, for example, the problem of lease contracting in the kolkhoz or sovkhoz. The specialists have seen that when it is introduced they have to go and put themselves at the head of this matter and put their knowledge into practice together with the kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers. But not all are ready to do so. They have become used to giving advice and looking around, but they do not want to organize the matter. Another thing: Lease contracting reduces the management personnel by up to two-thirds. There are now those who would like to slow down rental subcontracting. Why? Because it cuts across concepts which have become established over decades. So, a new stage has begun. It is not simple; it requires tremendous effort, persistence, time, and wisdom.

All must work: the worker, the intellectual, and the peasant. Not just nod to the leaders. Therefore, if you say that you believe, this belief must rest on understanding. Now is the time of great changes: One must not tremble or become frightened.

The Krasnoyarsk people assembled in the square said that they support the restructuring in progress in the country and that they will work in true workers' style, as conscience dictates.

One could even say that Krasnoyarsk Kray is unique in all respects, said the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. This applies to the richness of its subterranean resources, and to its fortunate combination of being rich in forests, rivers, and soil. What has begun to happen to the ecological state of the Kray—to water, soil, forests, and air—cannot be permitted. This situation has to be put right, comrades. After all, we want to develop the kray further. Maybe it would even be worth thinking about looking at ecological matters specifically and working them out with the greatest possible attention, so as not to spoil things. The economy of the Kray is of tremendous interest for the present and future of the country. This is true. But it is important to bear in mind the main thing, that people live here.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the irreversibility of the restructuring process. "On the way to Krasnoyarsk, I met people and told them that we shall go ahead firmly with restructuring, but we shall be very careful. The fate of socialism and peace [mir] depends to a large extent of how it goes. We cannot rush into it, 'draw swords and charge!' No, here everything has to be thought out very thoroughly."

Comrades, we must advance firmly, and those who try to pull us back, to grab us by the arms or legs, must be rebuffed. But the main mass is solidly behind restructuring. But here it is important to remember: Restructuring is not a stroll along the street where everything is clear and you just have to put one foot in front of the other. Restructuring is an unexplored road.

It is really necessary that all should know why restructuring is being implemented, the Soviet leader continued. If something does not work out, people must know that too. After all, when do distortions occur, when do demagogues crawl out of the woodwork? When questions are not discussed and reasons are not explained.

During the discussion in Yemelyanovo, one of the comrades said that there the leaders do not want to meet the working people, do not want to listen. According to them, it is all clear to them and there is no need to take counsel with people. Such an attitude is no good at all. Reports and elections are now in progress. People will look at such leaders and the council of the labor collectives will meet, or if it is at rayon level, a session will be held. They will say: If you do not want to meet us except at sessions, except for those occasions when you cannot get out of it, what sort of leaders are you? This is no good. The fact that in Krasnoyarsk now both the kray and city leaderships are appearing on television and going to the labor collectives, explaining things to the workers, labor veterans, young people, and intellectuals—this is absolutely essential.

"Openness—this is a quality that we must preserve, comrades," Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized. "Some people do not like it when it is said that something is bad. We should pose the question like this: There is this in life; that is, the truth, and there is no getting away from it. If there are lies, if they are making it up and insulting people along the way, that is intolerable. If it is the truth, then we must get in tune with it, sort it out, and on the basis of the truth eliminate everything that is no good. Everything is simple, it would seem. However, we have become accustomed to something else. But everything will be settled, comrades, it will be settled, as long as we do not lose the frame of mind, do not lose faith in the cause that we are working for by joint effort, and by joint effort only."

Thousands of Krasnoyarskans gathered at the memorial to fallen heroes. Addressing them, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that the current year has done a lot toward the implementation of reform in the country. It would seem that we prepared well, foresaw everything, and worked out the principles, the approaches, the norms; but life is always richer, he said. The mistakes have to be put right as we go along. We are making alterations, refining things. Collectives are starting to put their rights into practice. This is all far from simple. We must learn, talk, and analyze.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expressed the conviction that Soviet society must be open; problems should be discussed publicly. Under socialism the people are in charge, they are the main performer; yet it came about here in the economy, in the work of the soviets, and in other matters that they are, as it were, off to the side somewhere, and the leadership in their offices decided on questions that require general discussion. Glasnost has enhanced people's character and confidence.

Mikhail Gorbachev promised that the party would not go back on its decisions. As he put it, people ache for restructuring, and this shows that such a policy is necessary for us all.

The Soviet leader pointed to the importance of developing the cooperative movement. There will be more cooperatives for services, there will be more cooperatives for goods, there will be more cooperatives for construction, there will be more cooperatives for providing maintenance services and so on, and when all this grows, competition will begin. But now, when they are isolated, sometimes they grab what is on the surface. If there is a need, a demand, they will catch the moment. I consider that our financial and economic policy must take this into account. Just do not kill off initiative, comrades. It should be managed so that the cooperative movement becomes an organic part of our common struggle.

One of the participants in the conversation turned to the theme of glasnost. It is very good, he said, that our newspapers are taking their example from Moscow—they are writing honestly about the mistakes. But what are we to do about editors who sometimes publish unchecked facts?

If the matter concerns what really does exist in life, then they must write about this, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized, so that people know and can see our sore points. But when articles that distort the truth appear in the press, or hasty judgments on serious issues and—this is particularly intolerable—things which are an affront to people's dignity, that is no good.

I think that we are not in any disagreement about the fact that we need glasnost as we need everything that is of service to socialism and to the people. But if anyone wants to use glasnost to infiltrate something or other from the other side, that will not get by. In the final analysis, the people will sort everything out. You cannot hide the truth, you cannot conceal it!

The meetings of the CPSU Central Committee's general secretary in the Krasnoyarsk area continue.

Begins 2d Day of Visit

LD1309042988 Moscow TASS in English 0424 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Krasnoyarsk September 13 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, started the second day of his stay in Krasnoyarsk

region by visiting one of the largest enterprises in the city—the Khimvolokno Association. Conversations were held with workers, engineers and the senior managers of the association on ways of speeding up modernisation of shops, which manufacture tyre cord and fibre. Questions of working conditions in shops and the need to take urgent measures to improve ecological situation at the enterprises and in the city were raised.

Speaks at Local Association

LD1309122288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 13 Sep 88

[From the "Time, Events, People" program; "report" on CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's 13 September visit to the Khimvolokno Production Association in Krasnoyarsk—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The Krasnoyarsk Khimvolokno Association is Siberia's oldest enterprise for the production of chemical fibers. Its output is essential to the country—viscose filament for fabrics and knitted goods and viscose cord, the basis for tire production. They are still unable to satisfy the country's demand for their products. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev talked with the workers at the enterprise, visited their workshops, and spoke about production problems in the town and in the whole country. Here, in the enterprise recreation room, he is having a thorough conversation.

[Gorbachev] Well, comrades, first of all I would like to say that I am pleased to have finally made it to Krasnoyarsk Kray. It has been my wish, and my promise, for a long time now. Now the debts have been paid. But I feel my debt to the people of Krasnoyarsk is growing. Just yesterday I had a bit of a chat, and today at your works I feel that a fair number of debts have built up on the part of our Central Committee and government to the people of Krasnoyarsk. In recent years we have on several occasions taken a roundabout approach from various standpoints, at the Central Committee and government levels, at the initiative both of the center and of the kray organizations, to questions relating to the development of Krasnoyarsk Kray. Frankly, our worries that we are not obtaining everything we counted on obtaining from Krasnoyarsk Kray, despite the enormous funds that have been directed here, are starting to grow. And if things aren't working out with services, with people's lives, how can we count on the country obtaining everything it expects, if people aren't properly provided for, if so many problems have built up for them.

I can see that this has simply grown into a major problem of lagging behind in the social development sphere. And look, the whole conversation at your enterprise is a short one, I'm not even looking at machine tools or the output. In fact, in the final analysis this isn't the main thing. Even without looking you've got a rough idea of what sort of output this is. But when I try to communicate, in so far as this is possible, well, in all of the various workshops and various places, it's the same thing, the same social questions. I can see that people are, in general, satisfied with their enterprise from the work point of view. They are here willingly; they like their profession, (?and the people need it). But the work has fallen behind in reconstruction. This has probably occurred for the following reason: When we began this 5-year period, and thought about how we might raise the technical level of our national economy, we made a decision, and I was an active supporter of it, that old projects shouldn't be incorporated in reconstruction.

Otherwise, we may once again squander money and start something that belongs in the past. Therefore, we have started rejecting things—making technical examinations and rejections. We have stopped reconstruction at hundreds of enterprises until new technology and new equipment catch up so working conditions and performance will change and correspond to at least our best level, and approach or actually attain world standards. Comrades here have already told me and I simply (?learned from your reports) that the equipment earmarked especially for reconstructing the works will reach world standards. So, now two ministers—your Comrade Bespalov [minister of the chemical industry], and the minister of construction [not further identified] have agreed that as of next year construction and expansion will begin to start new production, to organize and use the cadres, and to put old shops in order, thereby solving both the production issue—the technological issue—and that of conditions—the ecological issue. So, now we have to get down to solving the problem in earnest because the draft for reconstruction has existed for 8 years, and you have, perhaps, talked so much about that, I see, you have lost interest in...[changes thought] Was it you who said you had lost faith?

[Unidentified man] No.

[Gorbachev] Or was it somebody else? [laughs] Someone said (?he had lost faith). Well, I think all who are working to solve this problem now are here before you, and I think that if they don't do it they will pay dearly. One has to do things properly. Comrade Batalin [chairman of the Gosstroy] is Comrade Ryzhkov's deputy on the issues of construction; let us put the screws to him in the meantime, all together, because I can see that construction workers are to blame for a lot of things. Why, comrades?

The issue here is social provisions and so on. We have taken a look at what was added generally throughout the kray even last year regarding housing, medicine, preschool establishments. It turned out that the plan was not fulfilled, (?not fulfilled) by about 75 percent over 2 years. (?This concerns various things.) [speaks over interruption] This is within the bounds, listen, given this scale, but plans are not being fulfilled. And how will we go on if we don't expand? It will not do. Is that really the way to rectify matters, the distortions that have emerged? So we will discuss this; it will not do. We have to, seriously. But I will put it bluntly. The blame does not lie only with the kray, only with Krasnoyarsk's economic managers. I

think that the planning bodies are to a great extent to blame. If one plans, one has to see everything as a whole—both production and social, cultural and domestic services, and both the scale of capital construction and construction capacities. And, finally, alongside the scale of such an increase in industry all ecological issues also have to be resolved. Such a kray: rich in the gifts of nature, woodland, water, air, everything. Are we going to ruin all this? One has to say bluntly that such regions have emerged, including in Krasnoyarsk itself, that have simply glaring problems.

In the last production shop we talked about the very same topic. I asked: But has not the Siberian spirit in this tense situation (?declined) yet? People said: No. This is already the second part of my conversation with you during this short meeting. It is about the fact, comrades, that generally we are just getting down to serious work. You and I have been to enough meetings. We had to go to them. Why? To find out what has happened to the country and to us, where we are, and not only us but what happened before us, how this all came about, how such a situation emerged that today has brought the country to such a state; how it began, you understand, marking time, or moving ahead only very slowly and, moreover, with great distortions in its development. This analysis has shown generally that many, many things had to be reassessed. The main thing, to be blunt about it, is that somehow we counted on these changes being made by command and, by the way, the people got used to it, too. And I walk and walk around here now and the comrades listen and say: Put pressure on them, Mikhail Sergeyevich, hit them! Once again, once again, some sort of tsar, some great leader [vozhd] is supposed to do something, you know, to appear. We don't have one. Let's get away from this, the tsars and the great leaders. Let's live normally in a socialist society, in a society of working people.

Authorities are necessary, and we have them, and cadres are necessary, also at the central level, and leaders are necessary—all that is clear. Here, too, they are necessary, from the team leader to the center, so to speak, all that. The point is that, while criticizing the shortcomings in cadre work, in the work of administration bodies, and even the government and the Central Committee, we should not slip into demagoguery, which is fed to us, all in all, by demagogical elements inside the country or by someone from the other side. They feed things that, you know, blacken all cadres. That's unacceptable. Especially as we are now establishing these mechanisms, equally in the party and in the soviets. And through reform and the elections at enterprises we are giving the workers themselves the opportunity to decide what the cadres are worth, equally at the enterprise level and at the rayon ispolkom level, the rayon soviet level, and at the city, kray, and oblast level, and so on. That is how it should be. This has to be done firmly, comrades, so the cadres are under the people's control, are elected by them, report back to them, so they are closer to the people and are aware of everything. This has to be done without fail. That is why all these things we have conceived—through the democratization of society, through glasnost, through economic reform, that too is democratic, through political reform, through new approaches and party elections—are necessary because then the cadre situation will be different. Just look how many...[changes thought] I already read in today's PRAVDA that 40 percent have already gone through elections that have started, that the communists have replaced 40 percent of secretaries of party organizations at the primary level. And as a rule they discussed them animatedly, seriously, put forward two or three men, compared, and voted. You really have to elect those who enjoy peoples' respect; not those who are nominated from above, but those whose authority is recognized in every party organization. That is why the subject of cadres is very urgent within restructuring. But, comrades, we have noticed that other things have also appeared among the people: leveling, dependence. You see the attitude: Let someone come and do it; it's always someone else's fault. Why did this happen?

I don't want to blame this on our people. It means that that is how we structured things, that the people were somehow separate from the solution of problems. Take any issue, say, at an enterprise; it was all resolved in private offices. Even reviews of norms, rates, used to appear suddenly out of the blue. Sometimes not even all trade unionists knew about it, just the chairman of the trade union committee. That's no good. It's exactly the same with any issue. How is the enterprise going to develop equally in the production, technical, or the social . spect. How is it going to develop? The collective should know it all. The director has plans. Come to the labor collective council, and after the council come and discuss it with the people. Then the people will say: This is what we will have to watch for, this will have to be taken into consideration. This is our experience. This is where the trouble is.

Then these measures will have life in them, they will belong to all; otherwise, people would just read them and say someone dreamed this up, as if these measures had tumbled down from somewhere and been posted in the shop. They would see them as somehow imposed upon them and unnecessary. But when all this is thought through, it will represent a different approach. The case in the rayon is exactly the same, as is the case in the town and kray alike: People should discuss the main issues and pose them directly; in one case on the shop floor, in another through the party bodies, in yet another by means of the press.

Such an (?approach)—I can now see this—is not to the liking of some people, the old guard cadres. What suited them was this: As soon as someone asked a question, he received an answer right away: Go and do your work, and we will resolve everything here. No, enough, this is the end of that era, this era should...[changes thought] Why? Because if we fail to get on top of things, if people do not feel that they are genuinely in charge of things at

the enterprises, kolkhozes, construction sites, higher education establishments, laboratories, rayons, and towns alike, through...[changes thought] After all, all these mechanisms do exist: in one case production ones, in another Soviet ones. They can discuss and resolve everything and put forward proposals.

Well, all of that must be done. Because if this is not done, people in our country will continue to stand on the sidelines, and then there will be no progress of any kind, no movement. Nothing will happen if we continue to lag behind. That is why everything possible is now being done to implement these measures, through economic and political reform. Nonetheless, the fact remains that living at the expense of others, irresponsibility, and lack of discipline have also (?taken root) among the people. Just look how many defective products continue to be produced—and this even as the reform is underway. Defective products continue to be produced!

Look, wages are again drawn merely for turning up at work, but they should be paid for output, of good quality at that. Otherwise, we will again have a growth of money, growth of wages, but there will be no goods! Well, who needs this money then? If we will—and we can print a lot; for that we shall certainly find the paper! This ruble ought to carry full weight. I mean, it will carry full weight if at each enterprise wages are paid for working, for good quality output. Then we shall have machine tools, the goods you produce. This means goods will be delivered. They will reach the shops, and then people will have somewhere to go with these rubles—to the shops. Then there will not be this deficit on which speculators parasitize. That is why much must now be done. Work is only just beginning to get under way for real, it is only just beginning to get under way. I see and I hear, here too. Well, one comrade was here, an artist.

[Unidentified speaker] Wasn't it Yura?

[Gorbachev] Yura, I think. There was also a student. Well, I mean, he said: Mikhail Sergeyevich, it is necessary to implement restructuring with greater resolve and strictness and speed—can it not be speeded up? Generally, everything possible must, of course, be done so that restructuring keeps going. But this must be done at this enterprise, and that enterprise, and another. It will not, you know, be done in the offices, in the Kremlin or the Central Committee. It is being done right here! [Words indistinct] I will speak about this. I hear that momentum ought to be given from above. There are, in all probability, questions that require us to be prompted from above [word indistinct] and they can not be somehow brushed away.

The top bodies must get on with their work, because the center is primarily to blame for a great deal of what has not been done and for the fact that such a situation has come about. The center is primarily to blame, and the Central Committee and the government first and foremost. In the final analysis that just has to be said. And there is so much that must be changed and we are changing things. Everything has not been seen through to the finish but we are changing things. Great changes will take place in the party during this reporting period and election campaign. And the party apparatus will be reviewed. All this will be done. Major changes are under way in the government: very major, serious changes.

It is here that our fate is being decided. The central authorities must arrange things so the road opens up for people, so they have the right standards, the right prospects for development, (?things to help them). Technical matters are particularly important in politics because without the right equipment things remain the same under the new mechanisms. A new economic mechanism is fine, but look how the Chinese went about all their agricultural reform. The results came in a rush for a few years, so to speak, and then the whole thing ran aground because of the weakness of the material base and agricultural backwardness. It all (?went wrong) and they stopped. So we must concern ourselves with equipment, and it is a good thing that you will be carrying out reconstruction with new equipment.

It is now time to combine the efforts of the central authorities and the collective. You know I would ask only this. I said it somewhere. I don't know, maybe some of those comrades are present here. I had a conversation. I said, you know the things that worry people must be expressed in a sharp and straightforward way, in a workmanlike and frank manner. And anyone who tries to keep your mouths shut, well, you know such people must be put on the spot at all levels no matter where they are. If necessary they must be gotten rid of. Stick them in front of a machine tool and let them see how (?these delights) feel.

But these things must be expressed in a businesslike way, not only for the sake of doing a bit of shouting and making some noises. The bosses, too, are quite competent now. They have a good idea of what is what. Frighten us? How can we be frightened if we ourselves favor this restructuring and (?making things better).

On the shop floor people say: This is missing and that is missing. Such and such a thing is bad, we've got nothing we need, and so on. (?All right then), let us go and sort things out. You have had your say, now let us get down to work. This applies in trade particularly and, of course, the most acute issue is food. When we looked into it closely, what turned out to be the most acute issue? There is no meat. Or, rather, not that there is none but that there is not enough.

It goes to public catering, it goes to childrens' establishments, it goes to the hospitals, and in practice little remains for open trading. There is poultry, there is milk, and there is everything else. But as for meat, it is in the commission shops, but then naturally the price is different. And so the problem, you see, is meat, because all the other issues, if there was meat, they [words indistinct].

Well, [words indistinct] fairly difficult this year for us with vegetables, and potatoes, [unidentified man makes indistinct remark about tomatoes] or tomatoes, all the rest will be all right. So, these problems exist.

Take the question of the cooperatives. When we started to look into it, we found out right away which cooperatives in particular are causing very serious criticism, and in my opinion the indignation is justified. They are the public catering cooperatives. Many people have formed the opinion, and probably not without foundation—this is what I am inclined to think—that these public catering cooperatives take resources from the food shops, channeling them via these cooperatives, and at overly high prices. We have to look objectively into what is going on here. All the more because it is not only here among you that I have heard such things. But as far as all other cooperatives are concerned, is it really a bad thing for there to be more of them, more cooperatives, when problems arise with getting something repaired? For example, in your apartment. You calmly go around, and soon you find someone somewhere to make the repairs. How? You have to get mixed up with dishonesty, find a person at some building site. He has to steal building materials from the site, or paint, and you have to slip him the right amount of money for it. You understand what we end up with. What we need is a cooperative where a person can come and order repairs, or have equipment repaired, or have something made, you understand. Cooperatives to make clothes, that is what we need, that is what is lacking. A hairdressing cooperative, or whatever, or other services, that is what we need, that is good. But when this sort of metamorphosis happens in public catering cooperatives, I think we must sort it out. Incidentally, the resolution says strictly that they use raw materials, but they have no right to use raw materials from state resources. That is what is written. Evidently deals are being made at the back door, at night; the trade workers are probably getting paid off, and (?that is where much of the resources are going). In general, we must sort it out, I [word indistinct] that for myself.

So you see, in every issue, if you really (?recognize) a problem, it must be tackled; it is clear. But we don't have to go around saying: Everything is bad, just like some people cry: Restructuring has failed, restructuring is not working, restructuring is not producing any results. I cannot agree with that. But you can say: Well, over there in Moscow (?you may not be able to) sense what goes on here. No, comrades, I think this is what it is all about: We have spent all these years sorting out what we have to do. Now we are starting, changing over all enterprises to financial autonomy, [word indistinct]. The party is being restructured and now it is going to get moving and the situation will be different. But I will say it plainly: The real work is only just beginning. There are still a lot of problems with this transition and with the economic reform especially, but [word indistinct]. It has to be done, there is no other way. The other way would be to stand still, and all the problems would get even worse.

Meets Siberian Scientists

LD1309094288 Moscow TASS in English 0940 GMT 13 Sep 88

[Text] Krasnoyarsk (Eastern Siberia) September 13 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev met scientists and representatives of the general public at Krasnoyarsk's scientific centre this afternoon.

The participants in the meeting talked about the need for the all-round development of the territory's productive forces on the basis of a comprehensive scientific forecast.

It was stressed that the cost of the error, of the damage that might be caused to the region on the whole was too high in the large-scale and rapid tapping of its natural wealth.

The meeting's participants also discussed various aspects of a comprehensive programme, called Sibir (Siberia), in which Krasnoyarsk centre scientists were playing a significant role.

Zagladin Views 'Irreversible' Restructuring

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[Interview with "foreign political advisor" Vadim Zagladin by unidentified correspondent on "The Week" program; date and place not given—Zagladin remarks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Is it true that the opponents of the Soviet transformation and reform have gone on the offensive? What will become of restructuring? The question preoccupies us by no means as distant enquirers, since the Soviet changes obviously have and could have an effect on the Hungarian reform endeavors. Recently, Vadim Zagladin, Mikhail Gorbachev's influential foreign political advisor, visited Budapest. He has given an interview to "The Week."

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] The Soviet restructuring has no more enthusiastic believers, moreover supporters, than the believers in the Hungarian reform. However, in recent times we are a little fearful for the fate of restructuring. Is this anxiety justified?

[Zagladin] First of all, I have to say: We know that our Hungarian friends support the idea and practice of restructuring and we highly appreciate this. All the more so because we have studied, and also today we study, your endeavors, and we have utilized them as well in our practice.

[Correspondent] One modest little part of them.

[Zagladin] Well, directly, perhaps yes. But direct copying is, after all, not an appropriate method. So, we have studied and adopted your methods, and much else besides. Now, with regard to the other part of your

question, well, there is no cause for anxiety. I have to say that restructuring is a very complex and lengthy process. It extends to every area of social life: to the economy, to politics, to culture, to morals, to everything. In order that we might really be able to create something new qualitatively, time is needed, and not a little time. Perhaps we erred in that, right at the start; we did not speak clearly enough about the fact that this takes time. From here originated the expectations, from here the expectation of immediate results. And yet, an immediate result is for the time being not yet visible. This gives rise, naturally, to certain moods. Moreover, let me put it this way, some disappointment too. So, people are on the side of restructuring, they believe in it, but they ask: Why the delay?

[Correspondent] Now, the reason why we are anxious. When Gorbachev leaves Moscow as now, for example, on holiday, straightaway quite strident anti-restructuring outlooks and moods emerge. For example, in the spring, the memorable letter of Nina Andreyeva.

[Zagladin] But when the letter appeared Gorbachev was still in Moscow.

[Correspondent] He was then still in Moscow?

[Zagladin] Yes, he was still there. Look, it seems to me you are wrong in this. The party, the state leadership, which directs the restructuring and puts it into effect—or rather, the people put it into effect, the party only directs it—represent a united stand in this regard. Whether someone is present or not, that has no significance at all. Only, when Mikhail Sergeyevich travels somewhere, people pay more attention to certain speeches. But this sort of thing happens all the time.

[Correspondent] The debate goes on.

[Zagladin] The debate goes on. Now, what I would like to stress, regarding certain voices which sound odd both to us and to you, is that the debate in its entirety reflects the essence of the restructuring. And the essence of the restructuring is the perfecting of socialism.

[Correspondent] One of the members of the Politburo, Shevardnadze, in his speech stressed that the class character must not play a leading role in international relations. On the other hand, another member of the Politburo, Ligachev, highlighted that the class character of foreign politics is very important.

[Zagladin] As far as I am concerned, perhaps I would formulate both thoughts a little differently, both this and that. But this already belongs to the socialist pluralism of opinions. Comrade Shevardnadze's thought started out from the idea that the content of the modern age, of the modern era, is less dependent on the existence of the two systems, that is on their struggle with each other. The quotation, of course, is not entirely accurate, but that was its essence.

[Correspondent] Such as, for instance, the global problems, the safeguarding of peace.

[Zagladin] Yes. Comrade Ligachev's thought was that international relations have a class character. There is truth in both this and that. I repeat, I would formulate both standpoints differently, but there is a third standpoint, too, which Comrade Gorbachev has formulated. Personally, this is the one which appeals to me most. Both the formulation and the thought itself. This is the one I like the most. This is how he expressed it: We are absolutely clear that international relations cannot be reduced to a struggle of the two systems. The world has many faces. From this point of view the world has not two but several poles. Several poles exist. There are various state systems, alliances, and so on. From all this follows the totality of complex, contradictory relations. And it is this that makes up the international relations of our time. And here is another topic, which neither one nor the other speaker mentioned. Quite simply, in my view, it would be incorrect to look for a contradiction here. Here it is rather a question of the difference of formulations, of the difference of emphases. Apart from that, it is as if we were forgetting that Comrade Shevardnadze, too, was speaking about the indispensable nature of taking class interests into consideration, while in international relations he stressed the priority of panhuman interests. Comrade Ligachev, on the other hand, spoke first of all about class interests, and after that he mentioned the international interests.

[Correspondent] We are anxious about the fate of restructuring for other reasons, too. Many of us, when we see on television the enormous demonstrations in Armenia and the Baltic states, are afraid that somebody will perhaps say: Enough of all this; we have to put an end to the whole process of restructuring; we have to stop this process.

[Zagladin] Naturally there are such people. The question is close to the reality. There are some comrades who say: Is this restructuring? This is chaos. And yet these phenomena, if we look at them in their totality, are not the consequences of restructuring. They are the consequences of the fact that over long years the unresolved problems have piled up. As soon as the atmosphere of glasnost, the spirit of democratization, opened the windows and the doors, these problems were let out through them. I personally see no danger in the mere fact that people express their opinions in this way, though at times I do not agree with the justifications and the manner of expression. And the demonstrators at times harm themselves. This is a different matter. The people, who had no experience in this field, express their feelings in these ways. Many of their demands are just, yes, many of their demands are just, this is a fact.

[Correspondent] Here, besides, are the unofficial organizations of citizens, which often represent a divergent standpoint.

[Zagladin] As I have been informed at the meeting here, in your country a whole series of new laws are under preparation, among others on organizations, on assembly, on trade unions, and so on. Well, the same kind of laws are being prepared in the Soviet Union. I even asked some people: Say, are you speaking about yourselves or about us? [chuckles]

Now a legal process is being evolved in our country. We have stated that we have to be a constitutional state and for this we have to create the legal basis, which would be built on the principles of socialism, for the defending of socialism, which together with its own weaknesses and shortcomings has already given the world many things, on the domestic and international arenas alike, which so far nothing else has done. Let us just see: Would capitalism, I wonder, be so relatively peaceful and tractable, without socialism? Of course not. Wars could be raging between the individual countries for the various kinds of influences. This way it was different. Or would the colonial system have collapsed without socialism? Hardly. Therefore, we have to defend socialism. But the rules of law have to be clear: They may not infringe upon the rights of citizens, their freedom to express their mood and will. Well, we are now working on developing such a system. The thing is not simple, I know. In your country, too, there is a debate, in our country as well, in the sphere of lawyers, the experts. Then these laws, especially those of principled significance, will be submitted to social debate. The work, therefore, goes on.

The deadlines have not yet been precisely set in the case of every law. In certain cases there is a deadline already. The reform of the penal legislation, that is the debate and the adoption, will have to be completed already this year. The reform of the Constitution, about which the party conference passed a resolution, is set also for this year. The session of the Supreme Soviet will be in the second half of November and will deal with this topic. Before then the draft has to be submitted to debate. This will take place, therefore, in the near future. After this the work will continue in the new Supreme Soviet, which will be elected in March of next year. The delegates to the people's representative congress will be elected next March. At their first session they will elect the Supreme Soviet, and that will convene in April.

[Correspondent] So, you are of the view that restructuring, despite all appearances, is a new, irreversible process, and our anxieties are unfounded?

[Zagladin] Yes. We can argue about the tempo and the forms of the implementation; there will be more debates, and we can learn a lot also from our own experiences. Just compare, for example, the resolutions of the 27th congress and the party conference. You will see how much progress has occurred on the basis of our own experiences. This will still change. The tempo, the form, therefore, change. But in principle I think, no matter what or who should come—I say this on purpose—this thing can no longer be halted. Because it has already penetrated the people, and the people themselves will not permit it to be stopped. [end recording]

Joint Operation Exposes Ukrainian Nationalists

PM1209160588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent M. Odinets: "Operation 'Boomerang.' Carried Out Jointly by Soviet and Polish State Security Organs"]

[Text] Last spring a tourist from Britain, Cameron Taylor, disgraced himself at Kiev's Borispol Airport customs. An inspection of his baggage revealed secret compartments containing anti-Soviet forgeries, instructions on subversion, and pamphlets allegedly compiled by the Komsomol "perestroyka" group at Kiev State University, but actually printed on the other side of the English Channel.

Not long after, an 18-year-old New Yorker, Marta Kolomiyets [name as published], was also detained there following an inspection. She was trying to bring through an undeclared video cassette of a conversation with Lvovers Vyacheslav Chernovol and Mikhail Goryn during which they made a concerted effort to besmirch the Soviet system.

These and other facts reflect the intensification of subversive activity by imperialist powers' special services against our country. But their tricks keep on failing. We talked with Colonel Konstantin Konstantinovich Vysotskiy of the Ukrainian SSR KGB about one such failure by Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists working for international capital. He is a Great Patriotic War veteran, was wounded twice in battles with the fascists, has been decorated four times, and has been in the party for 40 years.

"This action carried out by the USSR KGB in conjunction with the Polish Internal Affairs Ministry lasted 20 years," K. Vysotskiy began. "It all began when Lvov doctor Svyatoslav Ignatyevich Panchishin, born into a local intelligentsia family, erstwhile graduate of the Vienna University medical department, assumed the role of a person prepared to help the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). His reputation in the eyes of the 'central command'—the OUN leadership—was maintained by the fact that Panchishin's uncle was a member of the so-called 'Ukrainian state government' which had been proclaimed by Bandera's successors.

"The OUN spent a long time checking Panchishin out, giving him various difficult assignments, inviting him to Poland to talk with a certain Bilinski, who had also been in Lvov. For the preparation and dispatch of materials Svyatoslav Ignatyevich was given a code book, instructions on cryptographic writing, and an address in Britain. He was a skillful operator and did not arouse any suspicions."

[Odinets] Somewhat similar to Artuzov in operation "Trust."

[Vysotskiy] In a way. Panchishin had a difficult job because the OUN wanted information on the disposition of forces and on the siting of missile installations. They set him the task of selecting a reliable person in Kiev in order to set up a stronghold for "OUN units abroad." The person chosen was Yuriy Ivanchenko. He was summoned to Poland, where he met with Bilinski and other OUN envoys. They spent a long time vetting the man from Kiev and, having decided he was reliable, told him how to conduct himself in the future. Panchishin and Ivanchenko derived from conversations, meetings, directions, and instructions from OUN agents a wealth of information of great value in terms of successfully combating the various foreign anti-Soviet centers.

Since there is a constantly growing struggle for influence in international OUN circles between the Bandera and Melnikov people, Panchishin and Ivanchenko were instructed to monitor this and orient their "underlings" in the spirit of the center's directives. They were also told that President Reagan looked more kindly on the Bandera people. In the West they already reckoned that they had reliable groups of "like-minded people" in Lvov, Kiev, and other places. But Panchishin and his colleague continued to string their "masters" along. Then a coded message came from abroad to the effect that Svyatoslav Ignatyevich had been coopted onto the "central command" of the "OUN units abroad" in recognition of his services and had been appointed chairman of the "chief court" and also leader of the so-called "'security service' in the Ukraine"....

[Odinets] It is reminiscent of Ostap Bender's "sword and plowshare league."

[Vysotskiy] No, it is not that funny. It has to be borne in mind that the OUN's aims are at all costs to harm the Soviet people, wreck the detente process, and wage a struggle for the destruction of the socialist system in the Ukraine. It was with the "tourists'" assistance that a portable duplicating machine to produce nationalist documents and microfilms bearing various provocative appeals were transferred to Lvov. Large sums of money, U.S. dollars, and special radio sets and cameras were dispatched. Nothing was too much for Panchishin's mythical group—he himself was not only appointed chief judge "in the region," but his associates' "great services to the OUN" were also recognized through the award of the "Gold Cross." On top of all that, they were also made members of the "Ukrainian Government." And Bilinski, who had put in so much effort in Poland to set up an OUN underground in Lvov and Kiev, was not only awarded the "Gold Cross," but their generosity also extended to the Bandera silver medal.

Panchishin and Ivanchenko now figured as group leades in OUN ruling circles. There were even ludicrous statements by some OUN ringleaders that they were allegedly relibaly "controlling" the political situation in the Ukraine with the aid of the secret underground that had been set up.

[Odinetsa] You mean Panchishin's "group"?

[Vysotskiy] Of course! All this was necessary in order to pretend to those financing this filthy rabble. But Panchishin and Ivanchenko were also pretending. That was how the work continued. Recently the center demanded that they obtain information on the accident at the Chernobyl AES, about the mood and behavior of Chernovol, Krasivskiy, and Osadchiy on returning from imprisonment. The Bandera people wondered whether they had retained their old nationalist postures and whether they could be counted on to organize and conduct hostile activity.

[Odinets] Judging by certain pronouncements, we have not always attached serious significance to the activity of OUN organizations abroad in the belief that they are far away and do not merit serious attention.

[Vysotskiy] The danger posed by the OUN must not be overestimated, but neither must it be underestimated. Emissaries from the "command" brought Panchishin and his "accomplices" a large number of documents adopted at the organization's seventh "grand assembly." You see, the strategic tasks put forward by the "assemblage" were based on the concept advocated by "OUN units abroad" of achieving a "separate Ukraine" through the organization of an armed struggle against the Soviet state and social system. The Bandera people make the possibility of its implementation directly dependent on the occurrence of a "global military conflict" or "internal revolution" in the USSR. In this connection the analysis of the present situation in the Ukraine from anti-Soviet positions has an important part to play. In particular, there is keen hostility to the CPSU's new course as something that was allegedly forced on it, implemented under the "pressure of external factors" and "serious upheavals" inside the country, due to "forces of a national character." It is planned to concentrate great efforts on spreading provocative fabrications about "increasing resistance" to restructuring and about major political and social conflicts allegedly brewing in the Soviet Union. This is done for the purpose of sowing doubts about the correctness and sincerity of CPSU policy and the line of renewal and improvement of the people's material life.

In the so-called "appeal to the Ukrainian people" the OUN ringleaders urge them "not to succumb to the glasnost trickery," which, they claim, is intended merely to legalize "opposition elements," confine them to "activity involving the defense of rights," and distract them from active involvement in the "underground liberation struggle." Further on in the "assembly's" documents attention is drawn to the claim that "antigovernment processes" have become widespread in the Soviet Union of late, acquiring a "mass revolutionary

character." They go on about Kazakhstan, Latvia, Estonia, the Crimean Tatars, and some other similar manifestations. A separate resolution "on military matters" contains guidelines in the event of the "emergence of an internal revolution" in the Ukraine which direct "conscious elements" to seize power and organize their own police and Ukrainian military subunits. The "assembly" approved plans to step up subversive activity by Bandera people on the territory of the USSR.

Young people also got a mention in the "assembly" documents. A special decision set the tasks of widening the "front of the Ukrainian youth struggle against the Soviet system," exploiting the "contradictions of the socialist system that have been unearthed during restructuring," inspiring "sabotage and demonstrations," putting young people on the path of struggle "for the freedom and state independence of the Ukraine," and replenishing the ranks of the "Ukrainian underground, operating in accordance with OUN recommandations."

[Odinets] Some of our young men, who go to spontaneous rallies and demonstrations for very vague reasopns, obviously do not even suspect that they are playing into the hands of dark forces who dream of pushing our country off its chosen path, wouldn't you say?

[Vysotskiy] Certainly. The Bandera people want to form a bloc with all antisocialist forces in the world. One would not need to pay particular attention to all this, of course, were it not for the forces behind these puppets. But look at the OUN papers SHLYAKH PEREMOGI and SVOBODA, published in the West. They are filled with reports about the U.S. leadership's support for antisocialist and anti-Soviet forces and the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' bosses. SVOBODA reports that Reagan spoke in the presence of dozens of Ukrainians in support of "oppressed peoples" and a U.S. congressmen, in the paper SHLYAKH PEREMOGI, expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would collapse.

[Odinets] You have been abroad. Are you acquainted with Ukrainian emigres?

[Vysotskiy] I have met with them often. On the other side of the Atlantic a vast number of Ukrainians regard our country and the Ukraine with love and sympathy and is very interested in the favorable processes taking place in the land of their forebears. But there are also many people who have been deceived and led astray or people who are simply hostile toward us. It is they whom the OUN bosses are exploiting for their masters' benefit.

[Odinets] How did the Soviet and Polish state security organs collaborate in this operation and what specifically did they achieve?

[Vysotskiy] USSR KGB and Polish Internal Affairs Ministry organs obtained documentary materials on subversive activity against the Soviet Union and Poland by Bandera formations situated in the United States, Britain, Canada, the FRG, and other Western countries. They revealed attempts by the bosses of "OUN units abroad" to consolidate anti-Soviet activity within the framework of the ABN (anti-Bolshevik bloc of peoples) with other antisocialist groupings abroad and with Zionists. They revealed attempts to get individual bourgeois politicians in capitalist countries, above all the United States, to "pressure" the USSR into granting "independence" to the Ukraine.

All this time, with active assistance from Panchishin, Ivanchenko, and other Soviet patriots, subversive activity by "OUN units abroad" against Poland and the Soviet Union was being carried out under our control. Suffice it to say that as a result of the operation subversive actions by more than 20 Bandera emissaries were identified and neutralized. Also, program and cadre guidelines, decisions IV, V, VI, and VII of the "grand assemblies" of Ukrainian nationalists, hundreds of other instructions and directions concerning the implementation of anti-Soviet activity, over 1,000 items of OUN literature, many technical facilities, and large sums of Soviet and foreign currency were intercepted.

Major Aleksander Minkowicz of the Polish Internal Affairs Ministry, who played an active part in the operation, is in Kiev at the moment. I want to express my sincere thanks to him and to the other Polish comrades. The main result of our joint efforts is that the true face and designs of the OUN people—sworn enemies of socialism—were revealed once again during the operation.

[Odinets] Thank you for talking to us, Konstantin Konstantinovich.

Estonian Premier Comments on Economic Autonomy

PM1209153688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with B. Saul, chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers, by economist R. Kaarpere and IZVESTIYA correspondent L. Levitskiy, under the rubric "Economic Reform—the Basis of Restructuring": "Territorial Economic Accountability"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Interviewer] Bruno Eduardovich, what is the reason behind the broad public support for the idea of an economically accountable Estonia?

[Saul] Undoubtedly it is the fact that the traditional centralized system of economic management based on the sector principle has become obsolete and is today no longer capable of resolving the problems facing both the country as a whole and individual regions. Ministries are extraterritorial by their nature. Their object is the greatest possible sector benefits for the smallest possible outlay. And that means sector benefits. The ecological, economic, and social problems of the extensive buildup of production facilities, which inevitably are particularly

acute for the territorial unit, are of least concern to the department—the monopoly. But our country is a federation, a socioeconomic association of territories and regions.

Remember, a great many of the speakers at the party conference sharply criticized the sector and departmental approach. This approach causes social and national contradictions, negative ecological changes, and uncontrolled migration. It is very difficult for the leaders and population of krays, oblasts, or republics to resist pressure from ministries. Take, for instance, the "phosphorite affair" that caused universal indignation in Estonia. Geologists discovered large phosphorite deposits in the north of the republic. The USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production promptly tried to begin exploiting it by a cheap but really merciless method. No account was taken of technological potential or the ecological consequences. Nor would they heed the opinion of the local soviets or the government of Estonia. Public protests and scientists' arguments were swept aside as parochialism.

Such things have happened fairly often, and not only in our republic. If a territory's stance did not coincide, for various reasons, with the desires of the departments, it was branded parochial, regardless of whether the arguments were justified.... We were forced to appeal urgently to the country's government. It alone could stop the sector staff and prevent a disaster, the possible extent of which is hard to imagine. All the subsequent commissions that came to study the case assessed the situation objectively. Their conclusion: Today's level of technology does not allow the commencement of exploitation of the deposits.

We are grateful for the understanding and support. But it is the republic's constitutional right to decide the fate of such projects. Taking the country's interests into account, naturally. But the right of "veto" should be a right, not a mere slogan. Unfortunately, at the moment the real rights rest with the sectors. They concentrate vast resources, a mighty potential, and science in their hands. The idea of regional economic accountability was put forward by the Estonian public as a counterweight to the ministries' unlimited power.

[Interviewer] So does that mean it is no accident that the debate on regional economic accountability in the republican press coincided with the "phosphorite affair"?

[Saul] There is, of course, an emotional link. But the roots of the idea of "economic self-management" [samokhozyaystvovaniye] go much deeper. They lie in the general dissatisfaction with the standard of work and life. This alarming laggardness in labor productivity both in industry and in the countryside in comparison with the developed states is not, of course, due to our being unintelligent or unskilled. What is lacking is the incentives that stimulate people to work efficiently; the economic mechanism is distorted. Regional economic accountability is directed against leveling and enhances the territories' interest in the full utilization of resources and reserves to satisfy the population's needs.

Its essence is self-sufficiency in food, goods, and services for the population. Of course, not everything should be produced locally, but we should have plenty of high quality goods for advantageous trade on the unionwide and foreign markets. Back in 1984 the republic Gosplan and the republic Academy of Sciences concluded a contract with the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute to draw up a model of regional economic accountability. So preparations began far earlier than the debate referred to. But public activeness accelerated it considerably and prompted the republic government to take concrete, effective steps.

[Interviewer] What is regional economic accountability?

[Saul] The three pillars on which this concept rests are: improving socialist relations between republics and within the republic and stepping up its role in the national economic complex and in the unionwide division of labor. Isolationism and parochialism are unacceptable. They are the path to stagnation, a blind alley. We are in favor of the widest participation in the all-union market, in all economic ties. But on condition that these ties are mutually advantageous. Neither Estonia nor any other republic should trade or carry out exchanges to its own cost. Integration is in our mutual interest.

That means we also need a range of appropriate legal, juridical, organizational, and economic measures. The mechanism of economic accountability is strict financial commitments. The principle is to live within your means. Expenditure according to income. And full autonomy in how your own income is used. The levels of economic accountability are the shop, enterprise, rayon, city, and republic. The logic of the democratization of economic management is that every labor collective will be subordinate not to sector staffs or territorial staffs, but to legal and economic laws. The fundamental law here is the Law on the Enterprise.

What does the ministry's power over the enterprise rest on? On the setting of the production plan and the control of quotas for resources. Well substantiated proportions in the state order, the switch to wholesale trade in the means of production, the improvement of the system of prices and the commodity-money relationship, and the right of access to the international market break the chains of the collectives' former all but feudal dependence. This is an objective trend—the trend of restructuring.

The enterprise's duty under the new economic mechanism is meticulously to transfer a well-founded proportion of its profit to the local budget. It is absurd that a labor collective in Estonia pays union departments for water, for manpower, and for fixed capital, as well as turnover tax. For instance, machine building enterprises

transfer only 2.5 percent of their profit balance to local budgets. Yet all the deductions should go into the budget of the settlement, rayon, or city—the territory where the production unit is located. Local soviets settle up with the republic. And the republic with the country.

[Interviewer] That means that an enterprise will know only one authority—the authority of the local soviet?

[Saul] Yes, the soviet will regulate the utilization of all resources. Income from them forms the basis of its independence and of the more comprehensive development of the territory. The soviet will make its own provisions for life, rather than sending requests to higher soviet and party organs and ministries, as it is obliged to do at present. At the moment it is responsible for everything and to everyone, and yet it has nothing.

Here is a typical situation. The republic's village soviets actively set about building schools. We support them, although the construction of a number of facilities has been delayed—including kindergartens. Today the countryside badly needs schools; otherwise, the education reform will remain on paper. But we are stubbornly criticized for laggardness in the construction of kindergartens—we are not fulfilling the 5-year plan targets. How can a Gosplan specialist from Moscow be in the best position to decide what to build in an Estonian settlement? He is simply responsible for scoring his own "points," and he exerts pressure. But the plans were drawn up 5 years ago, and much has changed since then. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have begun to pay grants for small children. A mother receives a "wage" to raise her own little ones. And that has had a direct influence on the demand for creches and kindergartens.

[Interviewer] The public in the republic has put forward the idea of regional economic accountability. But is it kept informed on how the development of this concept is proceeding? Or will everyone be presented with the fact of its approval, as has often happened? So that the population will simply have to guess how scientific, how well-founded this model is....

[Saul] The government is financing a scientific collective at the Estonian Academy of Sciences Economics Institute. We expect it to produce the basis of the concept—the first version of economic accountability—in the near future. I do not think that it will be ideally regulated straightaway. That should not be expected of one scientist or one group of scientists. Alternative versions are needed. The right answer will be carved out through comparing them and through the clash of opinions. Apart from the Economics Institute, five more groups in Tallinn and Tartu are studying economic accountability in parallel. The republican press, radio, and television have become the platform for the preliminary discussion of ideas. So there will be alternative versions.

[Interviewers] But all the same, the Council of Ministers is financing one collective, one version?

[Saul] That is not the case. We have granted the Academy of Sciences the right to finance the research of the other groups, too, if necessary. Let the scientists, not Council of Ministers or Gosplan specialists, determine who should be paid and how much. It is a question of scientific work, and we do not want somehow to influence a particular avenue of this work. They are all equal. The final concept will represent the concentration of ideas, not someone's personal work. We maintain contacts with scientists in Lithuania, Moscow, and other cities studying the problems of regional development and management. An interrepublican seminar will be held in the near future.

[Interviewer] Living within your means has a bold ring to it. But today the republic imports hundreds of millions of rubles more output, equipment, and machinery than it exports. How is it possible to continue, and moreover to contribute to the all-union fund, with a minus balance?

[Saul] This calculation is extremely hypothetical. Interrepublican deliveries and production sharing will continue to develop. But they will develop on a new basis, an equivalent price basis, on the principles of wholesale trade and competition.

We must considerably increase the output of high grade goods that can compete in all regions of the country and reduce expenditure on their manufacture—where else can the income come from? We must produce so many goods that there are enough for ourselves and something to send to other republics by way of exchanges, too. Incentives to increase production are appearing for both enterprises and territories. It will, of course, take time to realize them.

[Interviewer] But at the moment things are not so clear. Light industry in Estonia was the first in the country to go over to full self-financing, and has basically been transformed into a trade and industry complex. The experiment surpassed expectations. The sector grew stronger economically and the volume of output and the quality of goods have increased markedly. Yet it has become virtually impossible to buy them in the republic. Even the simplest things, like linen. Stocks have been reduced. The production shops are busy, but the stores are empty.

[Saul] This is not the fault of the enterprises, or even the sector. For 2 more years the state order will be 100 percent for light industry. All the articles produced go into the common stocks of the USSR Ministry of Trade. The ministry distributes to the regions—fair shares for all. Only from 1991 is it proposed to reduce the state order for light industry enterprises to 70 percent. This is a serious problem which it is beyond the republic's powers to resolve.

[Interviewer] But such situations lead to skepticism: However much you work and however well, things do not get any better. Leveling is always and everywhere an evil. It is absurd: The workers have increased the output of goods and their wages have rightly increased. But there is nothing for them to buy. There are now fewer goods in the stores than there were. There is more spare money in the republic. What about the principle of self-recoupment and self-sufficiency?

[Saul] This is further proof of the need for legal and juridical guarantees regulating the republics' relationships with central organs and among themselves. Such laws are, as you know, in preparation. They are called upon to restore the Leninist norms of socialist federation. But the republics themselves must also develop direct, mutually advantageous ties. There are already many joint enterprises with socialist and Western countries in Estonia. But not a single joint enterprise with a union republic. Can that be right?

[Interviewers] Bruno Eduardovich, various misinterpretations are current over intentions to introduce your own currency, to restrict travel to Estonia....

[Saul] We have no such intentions. True, republican money came up again the other day at the scientific council—which is attached to the Council of Ministers. But I do not think that that is the place to start, with bans and restrictions. They lead to nothing but speculation and other negative processes. World practice (the United States, Brazil, Mexico, Yugoslavia—also federal states) has no such phenomenon as different kinds of money on the territory of a single country. The Moscow economists' proposal is of interest. This is its essence. Money received for goods and services to the population and participation in exports should be credited to enterprises' special accounts, with the right to purchase everything they need with that money, with no allocations or quotas. (IZVESTIYA has already written about this, in issue No 127 [6 May], 1988). The scientists' idea should probably be investigated.

[Interviewers] A date is being mentioned for Estonia's switch to "economic self-management." From 1 January next year....

[Saul] Nobody has set such a date. First we have to have a finished concept of republican economic accountability and submit it to the country's Council of Ministers. Next year is extremely difficult for starting an experiment. It is the year of restructuring of the country's political system—the soviet organs; the review of wholesale prices; and the completion of preparations for the 13th 5-Year Plan. That does not mean we are waiting for some date, a decision, after which we will enter the era of economic accountability and the new economic management. Its assimilation is in progress. Already 77 percent of the republic's output is produced by economically accountable enterprises. The Gosagroprom, Gosstroy, and transportation are fully economically accountable. Beginning next year the other enterprises will follow their example. In our view the wholesale trade in the means of production is being assimilated successfully. Foreign economic ties are strengthening. We are improving the economic management structure. We are making it more flexible and efficient.... We have prepared and submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals for extending the rights of union republics in formulating the budget.

[Interviewers] How are your proposals received?

[Saul] Well, on the whole. As are the proposals of other republics. Some of them are also drawing up models of regional economic accountability. We hope to be among the first to begin its implementation.

Riga Party Buildings Vacated for Public Use

LD1209085288 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 12 Sep 88

[Text] Riga September 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Kovalenko:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia showed another example how to use ongoing changes in management organs to meet social requirements of population. It handed over to the State Committee for Culture, recently established in this Baltic Soviet republic, one of the most beautiful buildings of Riga which earlier belonged to a party educational establishment. Incidentally, the building is an architectural monument of the 19th century.

Now the republican Palace of Culture and Arts will open here.

The restructuring of the national economic administration revealed redundancy of a good third of ministries and department in the republic. The management personnel was cut, on average, by the same figure. This made it possible to vacate several administrative buildings in Riga, as well as several dozen thousand square metres of floor space in other houses.

The Council of Ministers has just issued an instruction to open in the best buildings a polyclinic for teenagers, legal department of the Soviet trade college and student clubs. House-warming parties were also celebrated by the Musical Society, Union of Latvian Film Makers and Society for the Protection of Nature and Monuments. About 100 small premises are being turned into cafes, shops, branches of the savings bank, dress-making, tailoring and services establishments.

Azerbaijan Ecological Problems Discussed

LD1009113788 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT 10 Sep 88

[Text] Baku September 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy:

On the insistance of the public of Baku and Sumgait the authorities in Azerbaijan (a Soviet Transcaucasian Republic) closed down Lindane production, other toxic productions and several oil-processing facilities. This cleaned somewhat the atmosphere and cut pollution of the environment with industrial wastes. Nevertheless, specialist regard the ecological situation in the above cities as very unsatisfactory.

In an interview with TASS, Vakhid Guseynov, member of the Collegium of the Republican Committee on Nature Protection, said that the public's anxiety had been provoked by pollution of the environment to dangerous levels. Too many harmful production facilities, especially petrochemistry and oil processing, were concentrated in large industrial centres of the republic. Now Baku and Sumgait are among Soviet cities with the highest air pollution.

Over 7,000 hectares of land in Azerbaijan need recultivation. Large tracts of agricultural one-crop lands where only cotton or only grapes were grown, are polluted with excessive dozes of herbicides. The annual damage inflicted on the republic's economy, runs into billions of roubles.

The matter in question is, Vakhid Guseynov holds, not healing wounds but saving the entire organism. He notes that radical changes have taken place in the attitude to nature conservation. The government took a decision that no construction project would be launched without the committee's approval. It was ruled that from now on industrial enterprises would pay out the committee funds for using natural resources for the purpose of their reproduction.

RSFSR Considers Alternative Energy Sources

LD0809204588 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—The deputies of the Russian Federation declared at the meeting today of the Standing Commission for Power Engineering of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation for setting up a coordination centre for the uses of alternative energy sources. The objective of such a centre should be the pooling of efforts by designers and experts of various ministries and departments of the USSR's biggest republic for the mass introduction of plants for the conversion of the energy of the sun, wind and of other types of alternative energy into electrical ones.

"The alternative energy sources are of great significance not only as a reserve for increasing the output of electricity, but also as an ecologically clean industrial technology", Professor Vyacheslav Kulikov, a deputy from Moscow, told the session. He described as inadmissable the situation in the Soviet Union, in which the alternative energy sources make only 0.03 percent of the country's energy balance. The USSR now ranks 67th in the world as regards this indicator.

The ways of increasing the share of the alternative energy sources in the Russian Federation's energy balance were determined by the special decision of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation adopted a year ago.

It is planned to ensure in 1990 a saving of coal, oil and gas equal to 1,085 million tons of reference fuel through the use of the energy of the sun, geothermal waters, through recycling the city sewage waters and solid household wastes. Yet some of the decisons adopted by the government of the republic on that problem are so far fulfilled by the industries not promptly enough. Therefore some ministers and deputy ministers, who were strongly criticized by the deputies of the Russian Federation's parliament, felt quite uncomfortable today at the meeting of the commission. "That was not simply an act of rending the air", the correspondent was told by Yuriy Ananin, chairman of the Power Engineering Commission of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. "The criticism expressed at the session is reflected in the decisions and recommendations adopted by the deputies today. They will be turned over for implementation adn adoption of measures to the republic's council of ministers. They will be also taken into account in making up the plan for the development of the Russian Federation's power engineering for the next year."

Kazakh SSR Delegation Visits Ukraine

AU1209162588 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 9 Sep 88 pp 1, 3

[RATAU report: "A Meeting in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] A meeting with the participants in the Kazakh SSR Literature and Art Days that have begun in our republic was held at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee headquarters on 8 September. The meeting was attended by Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, V.S. Shevchenko, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, and K.I. Masik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members, as well as N.A. Nazarbayev, Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers chairman; U.D. Dzhanibekov, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee secretary; and members of the Kazakh SSR delegation.

A.A. Titarenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee second secretary, opened the meeting. [passage omitted]

N.A. Nazarbayev, Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers chairman, then delivered a speech. He expressed gratitude for the opportunity to visit the Ukraine, to exchange experiences in work and in the activity of creative organizations. [passage omitted]

In tackling ideological issues, N.A. Nazarbayev pointed out that the December 1986 events in the republic had resounded widely. In implementing the CPSU Central Committee decision concerning the Kazakh party organization, the republic's Communist Party Central Committee has done a great deal. Before, he said, we considered all problems involving relations among nationalities as being settled. This has not proved to be the case. There are 100 nationalities and ethnic groups from the country living in Kazakhstan. Quite a few problems arose in the development of national culture and language. A number of measures have been taken. The situation in the republic is now normal.

Our policy is to bring people closer together. Now and then, problems arising in relations among nationalities prove to be rather simple and solvable. We are trying to settle such problems in time, without aggravating them. [passage omitted]

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of great warmth and cordiality.

Turkmen Plenum Discusses Food Supplies

LD1109133588 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Ashkhabad September 11 TASS—Turkmenia's Communist Party Central Committee discussed at its plenary meeting yesterday questions of improving food supply of the population. Saparmurad Niyazov, first secretary of Turkmenia's Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report at the plenum.

It was noted that certain positive results were attained in the republic as a result of the work carried in this direction, however, there has been no breakthrough in agricultural production. Questions of raising the standard of farming, of mechanizing labour-consuming work were solved at an impermissably slow pace. The ameliorated state of lands is being improved highly inadequately, the water resources are utilized irrationally.

The plenum underscored the need for a drastic restructuring in the republic's agro-industrial complex, an accelerated solution to the food problem, a steep increase in food production and in the supply of food to the population.

The plenum adopted a resolution which defines measures to implement the guideposts of the 19th All-Union CPSU Congress and improve the food supply of the republic's population.

Scientist Views Future of Nuclear Power

PM1209125188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor A. Protsenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy: "Nuclear Power: After Chernobyl"]

[Text] The general public is concerned about the problems of the development of nuclear energy. Various views have been expressed in PRAVDA. Today it is a specialist's turn.

It must be said that the incompetence and conservatism that led to an imbalance in the development of industry and neglect of the development of the latest progressive techniques during the stagnation years inhibited technical progress. In these conditions serious malfunctions began to occur in various spheres of industry. Numerous accidents in industry, on railroad transport, on ships, and in the aviation sphere were largely the result of stagnation in technology and increasing irresponsibility. Chernobyl was one of them.

Many difficult problems now determine the way in which nuclear energy develops: At one end of the spectrum you have a most acute shortage of energy for the national economy and at the other end you have the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

It may seem strange to claim that one major accident has influenced the development of the entire nuclear power industry, but it is so. Chernobyl required such great efforts from the national economy when it came to eliminating the consequences of the accident, so shook the public, and showed up so clearly many shortcomings in the nuclear power industry that for a long time yet it will be the starting point for the adoption of many decisions. Industrial specialists and leaders and the public have different perceptions of the situation. It is talked about in various ways in the press. In addition to a sober approach one often finds a great deal of emotion and a lack of objectivity and professionalism.

The development of the modern nuclear power industry was preceded by decades of scientific and technical research, testing of technology at experimental power stations, and the creation of the country's nuclear industry. Scientists, engineers, and industry did not have modern AES's of that capacity immediately. The first AES was built in our country more than 30 years ago. It was followed by several more AES's and nuclear reactors of various types. Scientists were looking for the best. This extensive quest enabled them to identify and begin to develop the most suitable types of AES's for our country. Similar decisions were made in other countries.

Nuclear science and technology and the nuclear industry and power sector were set up in a relatively short time. Although requiring considerable capital outlay and effort

on the part of society, the development of the sector provided benefits that are not fully appreciated and contributed to the progress of science and technology nationwide. Nuclear science and technology was and is a most effective catalyst, one of the key avenues of scientific and technical progress. The entire history of the development of nuclear science and technology is associated with a constant quest and the exploration of new avenues. And then, against the background of this mounting technological progress, there came Chernobyl.

What comes after it? What path is to be followed?

There are many opinions on this. A variety of opinions, to say the least—often diametrically opposed.

Some say: Close down the nuclear power industry and all the difficulties will be eliminated. Some believe that it is necessary to take a super-revolutionary path: Forget everything as worthless amd create something new as soon as possible.

Take the first viewpoint. It is most vigorously and most frequently put forward by representatives of the humanitarian professions, by academics involved with various "nonnuclear" specialties and people living near nuclear power stations that are in operation or are in the process of construction. Sometimes its advocates start talking not only about nuclear science and technology, but about technology in general, about the technocracy's dominance. In the history of the development of science and technology there has been more than one period when very important scientific avenues have been closed or the wrong avenues have been explored in technology or the national economy—generally when decisions have been taken arbitrarily, bureaucratically, or as the result of an "outcry." In science there was the well-known persecution of cybernetics and genetics. In industry there was the brake on the development of machine building and coal power. There were also unwarranted and undiscussed decisions on urban development (the five-story blocks in Moscow) and agriculture (corn, the clearing of vineyards). Such things must not be allowed to happen again.

One can appreciate and understand the excessive emotion because by and large it is expressed by people who are sincerely trying to help. But one cannot accept ignorance. Obviously, decisions must be prepared and adopted by professionals, experts. Knowledge is needed to make public discussions and debates useful and not harmful in terms of adopting optimal decisions, which means vigorous educational work.

Specialists and academics in nuclear science and technology are doing this work with the public. But it is not yet being carried out on a large scale. A certain diffidence about the topic in the past is a factor here. The nuclear age needs its own education, its own thinking. Clearly this is a broader problem than the mere adoption of correct technical decisions.

Another, perhaps extreme view of the future development of nuclear power appeared and still crops up occasionally. Perhaps in a somewhat exaggerated form it appears as follows: Forget about the reactor technology and nuclear power stations created and developed over decades because they are no good. Instead, quickly create, with the help of new specialists who are not encumbered by past experience, new reactors based on entirely different principles and technology. This hastily concocted, pseudorevolutionary development strategy is not feasible, like similar proposals in other areas of human activity that reject past experience. The inevitable failure of this approach often leads to distrust of new technology, operational failures, and even tragedies involving collectives or individuals.

These matters cannot be solved at one stroke; what is required is painstaking, persistent planning work in all areas.

First, the improvement of the first-generation AES's of the seventies. The number of nuclear power units worldwide is constantly increasing. At the moment there are around 400. The rates of construction differ from country to country. Around 100 nuclear power stations are being constructed at the moment and around 20 are commissioned per year.

The rate of growth of nuclear power is two to three times greater than that of the power industry as a whole. The operation of AES's, including shutdowns and accidents, has provided and will continue to provide invaluable experience enabling us to judge their reliability and safety, and to find and apply new technologies. This work to improve safety was being conducted here and throughout the world long before the Chernobyl accident. Unfortunately, the work was slow.

The specific causes of the Chernobyl accident have been rather extensively covered in the press: the grossest violations of AES operation rules, in which certain station design faults also played a part.

The Chernobyl accident also produced a number of new problems. Many of the country's leading scientists and technical experts participated in their solution, in the analysis of the causes, and the statement of the conclusions. Dozens of specialists were operating under their guidance. Their collective mental effort made it possible to find the requisite solutions during the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

The results of their work and analysis have been used by designers and physicists to improve safety at existing AES's. A great deal has now been done in systems for safely extinguishing a fission chain reaction, diagnosing the state of the reactor, and improving the performance of the reactor and heat elimination systems.

It must be said that this improvement has been carried out not only at AES's with reactors like the one at Chernobyl, but also at other nuclear power stations in the country with reactors of a different type. AES's are substantially safer as a result.

Chernobyl signifies human lives and destinies, it signifies hundreds of square kilometers of territory temporarily lost. It is a colossal waste.

Since nuclear power came into being there have been three major accidents at nuclear reactors of different types: at the Windscale station in Britain (an accident that was kept secret for decades), at the Three Mile Island nuclear power station in the United States, and at Chernobyl.

These accidents are now a sphere of knowledge that helps us understand and predict ways of tackling the "human being-technology" problem. Successful solutions adopted in the nuclear power sphere will serve as a model for other sectors.

Safeguarding and improving safety is a constant process that requires special attention and a powerful scientific base. Unfortunately, the experimental base is poor and there are not enough equipment testing units.

Long before the Chernobyl accident, work began in design bureaus and scientific research institutes on creating a new type of high-safety reactor, in particular a high-temperature helium-cooled reactor, a new type of water-cooled reactor and so on. But the work was delayed because the experimental and testing facilities were lacking. The leadership of the sectors responsible for this did not pay due attention to the problem. It can be said that it is a problem for many industrial sectors, but in nuclear power, a relatively new sector, it is particularly important. I and my colleagues have spent a year elaborating and getting approval for a draft government resolution on creating these reactors and providing the requisite experimental and test facilities and computers. And here are the results. The draft was sent to 55 ministries and departments for their approval. It was rejected by 50. What was the problem? Was it just the leaders of the departments? Hardly. The manufacture of experimental and series equipment for research and the development of new technology is very unprofitable for plants and for sectors in general. This is a disease of all industrial sectors.

All-around incentives for work on new equipment must become a very important component of the development of technology and industry. This question may be solved automatically once we have gone through the first stages of restructuring in management and industry. But it must be tackled now, within the framework of the present structure and potential. The union Gosplan, Ministry of Finance, and State Committee for Science and Technology must find these new methods of stimulating the creation of new equipment: priority provision of resources and preferential credit, including foreign currency. Perhaps state orders, free from conventional planned supplies and geared solely to the solution of very important state tasks, will help solve this problem.

Foreign experience indicates that state funding of and incentives for major work on new technology are an established and proven practice.

Industrial and power engineering development is a very difficult and painful process at the moment. The point is that they have grown so much that their effect on the environment is comparable to natural mechanisms and phenomena.

Opponents make the reasonable observation: How can one talk about the ecological advantages of nuclear energy after Chernobyl? Damage amounting to R8 billion. Enormous damage, indeed. These billions are an appreciable sum even compared with the damage to the country as a result of the entire annual effect of industry and power engineering on the environment. According to the experts, the figure is around R50 billion per year. A glance at the past will tell you that accidents in industry and in the transport sector result not only in economic damage, but also deaths and the temporary resettlement of many thousands. Nevertheless, society does not make hasty decisions, does not close off these areas of its activity, does not ban aircraft, river- and sea-going ships, and motor vehicles, and does not close down industry; society demands that specialists and engineers find solutions which will reduce to a minimum the harm inflicted on the environment and people by technology. Society knows one cannot live without this. Just as one cannot live without power. For nuclear power stations, whose operation has practically no effect on the environment and human beings and which are therefore the most acceptable source of power, the way to bring about improvement is to increase safety.

Nontraditional, including renewable sources cannot solve the energy problem. They can be a substantial help, but no more. In view of the overall power engineering situation at the moment, the question of making nuclear power safer is an acute one and the relevant work is being carried out vigorously. A reliable solution to this problem will secure for nuclear energy the status of the sector that has the least effect on the environment.

Nuclear energy offers other opportunities for solving ecological problems. For many years now the USSR Academy of Sciences has headed work on the development of an area of science and technology which comes under the blanket heading of atomic-hydrogen power engineering. Using nuclear energy to enrich organic fuels or using it to obtain hydrogen or energy sources containing hydrogen will make it possible to introduce ecologically clean technology in industry and the energy sector. The problems of interaction with the environment that

arise in connection with the large-scale development of industry and the energy sector are so complex that they cannot always be solved by conventional methods. New ideas are needed.

Ultimately, the "human beings-technology-nature" problem can only be solved on the basis of the development and utilization of the latest technology and and scientific-technical achievements.

This makes it clear that it is the work of highly skilled specialists that now determines the progress of our society, and this work must attract the maximum pay. It is not the first time we have talked about this, yet this abnormal situation has persisted for decades. The partial measures that were adopted recently to regulate the pay of scientific workers and the staff of design and planning organizations are a very small step in the right direction. Specialists are paid less than a massive number of less qualified working people. An operator in charge of a reactor like the one at the Chernobyl AES receives less than a city bus driver. That is our evaluation of their degree of responsibility and usefulness.

The question of how economical nuclear power is often arises. The problem does exist, but often not in the context seen by the opponents. You cannot talk in isolated terms about how economical nuclear power is. It has to be compared with power based on coal, gas, and oil. And that is where the problems start. All these fuel sectors are state-subsidized: tens of billions of rubles per year. Fuel prices do not correspond to the real economic processes of fuel production. A reform of prices, including fuel prices, is envisaged, but doubts are already arising: Prices must not be raised too sharply—it would lead to a heavy increase in the cost of materials and equipment. Let us do it cautiously and gradually, otherwise we will not be able to establish a normal economic mechanism. This must not be permitted; however, prices must reflect socially necessary labor and material costs. Life has very often corrected us—half-measures are as a rule deceptive, aggravating a problem while giving the impression of tackling it.

In reality, prices reflect the fact that organic fuel is becoming less and less accessible both in geological and territorial terms. Oil extraction is essentially no longer increasing. Gas extraction will stop growing by the end of the century. An ecologically acceptable way of using such fuel as coal on a large scale has not yet been found. We should rely on nuclear power. The measures currently being adopted to improve society will improve nuclear power too. The only alternative to the retarded growth of nuclear power is its accelerated development.

End to 'Veto' on Certain Shortwave Bands Urged

PM1209131588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter under the rubric "Letters '...Not For Publication'": "All Waves"]

[Text] In the immediate postwar period—the time of the so-called "cold war"—a veto was imposed on certain shortwave bands—13, 16, and 19 meters. Shortwave started at 25 meters. It should be noted that our prewar radios had these wavebands.

One would like to believe that glasnost has put an end to these acts of suppression. Radio sets with these wavebands must be made available again.

Candidate of Technical Sciences V. Dosuzhiy, Kiev

Young People's Political Clubs Supported

PM1309085388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

[I. Korolkov article under the rubric "Young People and the Times": "Reversal by the Komsomol Central Committee Before Meeting in Moscow of Young People's Political Clubs"]

[Text] First a few words about young people's self-run political clubs. Many have sprung up in the past 12 to 18 months: "Community," "Democratic Restructuring," "Social Initiative Club"—the list is very long. What do they want? To improve society along with everybody else. They defend historical and cultural monuments and ecology, assist the disabled and the aged, ponder economic, political, social, and legal problems, criticize stagnation phenomena in state and social systems, and formulate and propose their own programs for resolving various tasks. These clubs are diverse and disparate in their attitude, activity, and in the participants' standard of culture and education. A year ago some of the clubs united to form the Federation of Socialist Social Clubs (FSSC).

And now a chronology of events. In the middle of July a nonstatutory Komsomol group consisting of members of the FSSC and the All-Union Sociopolitical Club sent a letter to the Komsomol Central Committee. It said that in the second half of August the clubs intended to hold an all-union information meeting at which they would exchange "experience in positive social initiatives" and analyze the current stage of "the development of restructuring and the all-union patriotic movement for its further development and deepening, which is part and parcel of it." The Komsomol group proposed that the Komsomol Central Committee provide the clubs with "specific aid with ideological backup for the meeting." The letter was addressed to V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

They supported the proposal. Joint work began to prepare for the meeting. The Komsomol Central Committee proposed holding it in the Higher Komsomol School. Accustomed to spartan conditions, the informal organizations were truly happy with this decisive step to meet them halfway. The propaganda and agitation department printed invitation cards. The last doubts of the skeptics who were distrustful about the reality of this aid were dispersed when KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA published an information report about the coming meeting.

In spite of the optimistic beginning, the ending was a sad one. The planned bilateral cooperation did not materialize. It is very important to answer the question "why?" For the case in question reflects many political, legal, moral, and ethical problems which concern society today. Today it has been more than 2 months since the 19th party conference, which captured our imagination with its frankness of opinions and proclaimed the course aimed at developing glasnost and independent mass initiatives and creating a rule-of-law state.

Specific people make specific decisions. At the time when it was being decided whether to hold the meeting or not, V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, was on vacation. N. Paltsev, secretary for ideology, had gone away on a business trip. Both of them supported the idea of the meeting. But in their absence no one in the Komsomol Central Committee apparatus wanted to take responsibility for holding the planned meeting and it went into reverse. Vladislav Fronin, chief of the Komsomol Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, sent Komsomol members to the Moscow City Soviet for permission to hold the meeting. There they promised to give permission, but on condition that the Komsomol Central Committee would provide the facilities. It would seem that all they had to do was confirm what had already been agreed. But suddenly it turned out that the Higher Komsomol School would not be able to provide the facilities—it was expecting a large group of foreign tourists. It was the classic bureaucratic vicious circle. The Komsomol Central Committee would not provide the facilities until the Moscow City Soviet gave permission for the meeting, and the Moscow City Soviet would not give permission until the Komsomol Central Committee provided the facilities.

We tried to find out from Vladislav Fronin what had happened. A vital circumstance came to light in the conversation. The department chief required the club representatives to report how the meeting would end and what it would produce. But how should this request be understood, taking into account that in recent years both in the press and on all kinds of platforms Komsomol measures have been criticized for regimentation, and the Komsomol was criticized for the fact that everything in it from start to finish was scheduled in advance, without leaving room for initiative, thinking, and debate. What is there to discuss if everything is clear from the very start? Young people are attracted to the clubs because they want to reflect on life's new phenomena and make their contribution to its democratization. The clubs are democratic. And understandably, they could not decide in advance who would talk and about what, and what proposals would be forthcoming. As I understood it, the absence of a previously planned script also decided the meeting's fate.

In the conditions of expanding democracy new social forces have come into the movement. The mechanisms through which citizens could administer society more vigorously have still not been worked out, traditions have still not taken shape, and timidity and sluggish thinking have not been overcome, but everyone is become increasingly conscious of the necessity to participate in running the country. This is occurring particularly rapidly among young people.

Self-run young people's political clubs today are often accused of empty talk. They are often indiscriminately bracketed together as loudmouths. But people forget that some of them are only a year old and sometimes even less. They (like all of us) have no experience of debate, and sometimes they simply cannot formulate their thoughts clearly, they are not always capable of listening to anyone except for themselves. They understand the problems which exist in society, they want to assist restructuring, and they have nonstandard thoughts, but what they should tackle and how is still very unclear. But is it worth accusing young people, who are experiencing difficulties in setting up these social formations which are hitherto unknown in our country and who are forming their own world view, of what older people, with many years of experience in social work, have not properly understood? It would be fairer and more useful to society to help them direct their energy into a useful channel. Not by patting them on the head but by inviting them to cooperate. Many intelligent ideas are born of keen minds which are not constrained by stereotypes. And someone's specific mistakes or delusions should not be transferred to all clubs indiscriminately.

Not so long ago I happened to be talking to Boris Nikolayevich Shakhnin, general director of the Moscow Production Association "Proletariy." We were discussing a Komsomol meeting's decision to create a workers' club. It all started with a poll which young workers conducted a year ago. The results surprised them: 76 percent of those questioned responded that worker prestige had fallen. Then the organizing body decided to stir up people's consciousness and rouse them to action. It was assumed that the club would be the place to discuss burning political, economic, and legal problems. But the club died without even being born. It could not have been born: The general director saw the initiator of the club as a person who was undermining society's foundations. When we started to examine the situation in more detail, it turned out that the idea was not bad, the club could have been of vital benefit, and the workers were not troublemakers at all. The old thinking was in operation: What if anything goes wrong?

In essence a campaign against illiteracy is under way in young people's political clubs, a campaign against political illiteracy. Students, workers, candidates of science, and artists are taking part in it on their own initiative. We all, and particularly propagandists, should be glad about the incredible vigor of people which we had spent years unsuccessfully trying to achieve. When a person opens Lenin and Plekhanov of his own accord, when he is looking for works by the economists Chayanov and Kondratyev which were rejected and forgotten in their

time, when he compares the stances of the modern economists, historians, and publicists, he has his own questions and thoughts. It is true that they are not necessarily those which the propagandist, who is accustomed to retelling newspaper information without analysis and to rebuffing his opponents without entering into debate, would like. This must be foreseen when making a step toward democracy. And we must not be afraid of dissident manifestations. No one has a monopoly on the truth; it can be reached by various paths. When we realized this, we had already made a leap forward. We ought to act in accordance with this understanding because even more problems will emerge tomorrow. Tomorrow people will join in the election campaign and will think before giving their vote to party secretaries and soviet deputies and chairmen. Not only opinions will clash but also actions. The young people's clubs will also play a prominent part in the struggle for worthy leaders, regardless of whether some people want it or not.

In our conversation Vladislav Fronin complained that it was difficult to make decisions when the rule-of-law state was only in the formative stage. One cannot fail to agree with this. But what can be done? It will not become a rule-of-law state in an instant. This is a complicated process. The laws which still remain to be adopted or improved will reflect the relations among citizens and between society and the state which are now being formed. And during the period when the new thinking is being established every one of us can also assist, as far as he is able, in asserting these new relations.

The young people's political clubs nonetheless held a meeting to which people came from various parts of the Soviet Union, and because of the lack of premises it was held in apartments. About 200 people discussed questions of developing a self-run movement and the problems of restructuring. They adopted a resolution—a document permeated with the desire to improve society—although it would probably be worth arguing with some of its points.

So, what had previously scared the Komsomol Central Committee? All's well that ends well, the apparatus would tell me. Let us imagine that everything had been different. Different discussions, a different resolution. What if there had been any unpleasantness.... Then the Komsomol would really have to be in the thick of events. Arguing, persuading. And not leaving it to the militia, as was often done, to hold a discussion with the informal organizations.

Turning down or banning a meeting does not mean getting rid of ideas which concern young people. The trouble is that the organization cannot, like someone with rheumatism, rid itself of its old illness of evading difficult problems. And the result is that it is the formal but not the real leaders of young people. But one gets the impression that it is not the fate of young people nor their ideas and actions, good or bad, which concern some leaders, but what opinion higher-ranking comrades will have about them personally.

I dare to claim that the prestige of Komsomol headquarters has suffered—thousands of the country's young people support the clubs.

Despite what happened, the interclub Komsomol group nonetheless made the correct decision to continue to cooperate with the Komsomol Central Committee, blaming this lamentable instance on the difficulties of organizational restructuring. I would also like to note that those organization workers who really did a lot to organize the meeting also appealed the club members to cooperate.

This is a good sign of young people's political maturity.

Baklanov Visits Rubber Industry Institute

PM1209143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Improving Rubber Equipment"]

[Text] Possessing unique qualities, rubber materials are used in virtually all spheres of man's activity. The reliable working of modern equipment—where the range of these goods numbers in the tens of thousands—depends in many respects on their quality. The Rubber Industry Research Institute, whose collective works persistently on the creation of new composites to meet the ever-increasing needs of new-generation machine builders, is one of the main developers of rubber and industrial rubber articles. O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Moscow institute on 9 September.

Institute Director D.L. Fedyukin talked about the work of the collective in the new conditions of economic activity, the further development of work to create new materials, their production units, and work to resolve social problems. Questions of boosting the efficiency of research and experimental design work geared toward increasing the durability of industrial rubber goods and their functioning in extreme conditions and the creation of progressive technologies were discussed.

In conversations with institute workers, the CPSU Central Committee secretary drew attention to the lengthy periods needed to develop materials and to the low rates for unifying various types of rubber goods, the range of which has grown excessively. He pointed to a serious lag in the creation of highly mechanized processes using rotor-conveyer lines.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by N.V. Lemayev, USSR minister of the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry, and other party and economic leaders.

Zaykov Visits Tolstoy Museum on Anniversary

LD0909215388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] On 9 September we marked the 160th birthday of Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy. The Tolstoy Museum in Moscow, which has opened after reconstruction, was visited by Comrade Zaykov, Politburo member, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the Moscow city party committee. He acquainted himself with the exhibition: Tolstoy—(?It's a Whole World). He made an entry in the book of esteemed visitors.

Zaykov Attends Moscow Day Festivities

LD1109095988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Text] Celebrations to mark Moscow Day began in the capital with wreathes being laid at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Mausoleum. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the walls of the Kremlin. Taking part in the festive ceremony were Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretry of the Moscow Gorkom; representatives of the party and local soviet and economic bodies; members of the city public; troops from the capital's garrison; and veterans of war and labor.

A festive start to the holiday was made on Sovetskaya Ploshchad, by the monument to Yuriy Dolgorukiy, the founder of Moscow. Theatrical shows and concerts, fairs, and promenades are going on in all the city rayons.

Supreme Soviet Official on People's Complaints

LD0609122888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] (Viktor Ivanovich Zavaznyy), deputy head of the reception department [priemnaya] of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is taking part in our program. News correspondent Olga Vasilenko interviewed him:

[(Zavaznyy)] This year, 18,000 citizens addressed themselves to us, and 156,000 wrote to us.

[Vasilenko] Have you tried to analyze where most of these appeals come from, (Viktor Ivanovich)?

[(Zavaznyy)] A significant proportion of these appeals come from the Ukrainian SSR, the Central Asian republics. Fewer come from the Baltic republics. We have analyzed this: The local soviets in the Baltic republics have a tradition of solving things by themselves. This isn't a recent thing. Over many decades the Baltic soviets—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—from the village to the Supreme Soviets of the republics, try to make decisions themselves.

[Vasilenko] (Viktor Ivanovich), do you take any measures against those sorry specimens of leaders whose actions force people to turn to you?

[(Zavaznyy)] There are cases where those guilty are released from their post, precisely for their dyed-in-the-wool bureaucratic attitude to the complaints of citizens. Our job is to analyze and publicize the nature of citizens' appeals, examine the question at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, inform the party organs about some important problem of public importance, and to take measures. All this on a timely basis.

[Vasilenko] A very urgent problem has arisen—relations between nationalities. I know that among the new questions discussed here with consultants are questions of a religious nature. You often get letters on this subject.

[(Zavaznyy)] Basically such questions are decided positively: To open a parish somewhere, to allow some neglected church to be opened, or to register the representatives of some religious communities and give permission to them to practice their faith.

[Vasilenko] (Viktor Ivanovich), what do you think needs to be improved in the work of the reception department, in work with people?

[(Zavaznyy)] The weak link in our work in this department is that as yet we do not often get out to places to examine specific appeals by citizens. The staff should go out more often to examine complaints, and specifically complaints where truly gross violations of legality have taken place. The immediate involvement of law enforcement organs or of some representatives of soviets is needed to resolve questions much faster than we can.

Militia Official Presents Crime Statistics

LD0609101588 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Over seven months of this year, 4.5 per cent of cases handled by the investigation department of the chief directorate of the Moscow militia were returned for new investigation. 37 persons were acquitted. This is not an evidence of inefficiency of investigating offices. This is a result of democratisation of the activity of courts, holds the chief of Moscow investigating officers, Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia Nikolay Solovyev. The department he heads has been existing for 25 years.

In an interview to the newspaper VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA published Monday, he said that over 80 per cent of all the cases on criminal offences committed in Moscow are investigated by this department. 6.5 thousand cases were investigated in the first seven months of this year. More than 4.5 thousand cases were referred to courts. Most of these cases are connected with thefts of personal property of citizens. Criminal proceedings were instituted against more than 700 persons for thefts and robberies, against more than 130 persons for the illegal possession of narcotics.

The biggest number of crimes committed in Moscow are crimes against property, Nikolay Solovyev said. The number of car thefts and robberies increased. But the number of grievous crimes and thefts of state property dropped.

Pre-War Belorussia Shootings Investigated
PM1209105988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by M. Shimanskiy: "Tragedy in Kuropaty: Who Was Shot Here?"]

[Text] As we have already reported (IZVESTIYA No 241) the Belorussian Council of Ministers has created a government commission to investigate the circumstances of the deaths of the people whose remains have been discovered in the Kuropaty Forest near Minsk. The investigation group of the republic's prosecutor's office has made available to the commission the results of the interrogation of witnesses.

V. Sobolev, chief of the investigation section, and Ya. Brolishs, investigator for especially important cases, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent that 80 inhabitants of the villages of Tsna, Zabolotye, Drozdovo, and others were questioned.

N. Karzhvich, born 1919: "In 1937 they began to erect a fence in this forest. The fence was about 3 meters high. The approach road was from the direction of Minsk. The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs kept constant guard over the territory. They usually brought people here in the evening, after 1700-1800 hours. They shot them immediately. I did not go there often, my parents would not let me. When I did approach I looked through a hole in the fence. People were put in a line above some holes. On one occasion my father and I drove by this place in a cart. A hole about 5 meters long was full of bodies. They were covered only with branches."

O. Borovskaya, born 1927: "Of the events which took place in that forest I can say the following: Shouts and groans could be heard from the forest. People shouted: 'Why us?' And shots were also heard. At first the shooting was during the day and at night. This all happened in 1937-1938 and then continued right up to the war itself. Later it was usually every couple of days or so. Women's voices were also heard.

"In the summer of 1938 we children were once out picking berries. We crept in through a trench under the fence. The trucks began to arrive. There was nowhere to go so I hid under a fir tree. A covered truck followed a passenger car. There were bars on the body of the truck. Bareheaded men dressed in gray civilian suits got out of the passenger car. The men led people out of the truck. Their hands were tied behind their backs. They began to shoot them. The people cried: 'Oh, God, why us?'"

D. Tovstik, born 1911: "It was a year or two before the war, that is, in 1939 or 1940. One summer's day we were reaping corn near this forest. A truck with an open chassis approached us along the road. Men in civilian clothing were sitting in it. The truck went inside the fence. We decided to take a look and approached the fence, removed the boards, and saw the men digging a hole. Then they left. Soon after that a truck with a black cabin passed through the fence into the forest. And shots and shouting were heard immediately. Then the truck left. We went to look. When we had crawled under the fence we saw the hole had been covered with fresh sand, which was moving."

N. Potershuk, born 1929: "Everyone in our village at the time knew about the shootings because shots were heard from the forest almost every day. None of the local inhabitants knew who was being shot—they were frightened to talk about it, even among themselves. I remember how once a friend and I nonetheless decided to take a look at what was happening there on the other side of the fence. This was in approximately 1939. We approached the fence toward evening. I saw and well remember how some 40 meters from where we were sitting about 8 men were digging a hole. When they had dug the hole they were put in a truck and driven away. We ran to the gravel road and waited. Soon trucks appeared, one covered, the others ordinary trucks with high sides. These trucks contained only men, they were driven from the trucks by men in military uniform and pushed toward the hole. Then shots were heard."

"We are continuing the questioning of witnesses," Ya. Brolishs said. "We are also to carry out and to obtain conclusions from the forensic, criminal, and other expert reports which have already been commissioned. When we have all the conclusions, we will analyze them carefully and compare them with the witnesses' evidence. Only after that will it be possible to draw objective and reliable conclusions about the events in Kuropaty.

V. Kondratyev, first deputy prosecutor of the Belorussian SSR, is directly supervising the investigation.

"I want to appeal through IZVESTIYA," he said, "to all those who know anything about the events in Kuropaty to tell this to the Belorussian Prosecutor's Office."

Group Formed To Reorganize Pedagogical Academy
LD0909163488 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—TASS correspondent Eleonora Sutotskaya writes:

A solid body of scientists, workers in culture, education, representatives of public organizations have been commissioned with shaping the future of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR. The academy, which

has been in existence for over 40 years, is being reorganized by the government's decision. The aim of transformations is to form a flexible, mobile and democratic structure capable of reacting promptly to school requirements and broadening fundamental research in problems of pedagogics.

The commission includes Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Yevgeniy Velikhov, Chairman of the State Public Education Committee of the USSR Gennadiy Yagodin, writer Anatoliy Aleksin and artist Boris Nemenskiy, school director Fedor Mikhailov and teacher Igor Volkov, head of the Soviet Culture Fund Academician Dmitriy Likhachev and sociologist Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya. They seek the advice of all those willing to participate in the quest for ways of restructuring the academy, they are consulting with their colleagues and discussing proposals printed in the press. The principle of their work is openness.

Heated discussions bring out the truth. The commission's meeting today, for instance, continued for over three hours. The academy's main scientific research areas seem to be taking shape already. They will involve the whole steady education system—kindergartens, secondary and higher school, vocational training, training of teachers. The participants in the meeting believe that these should be pedagogics and psychology. One should for sure study philosophy, sociology and economy of education. Mention among priority projects is made of the "development of personality" project. A broad "intellectual-and-aesthetic culture" programme is being offered. It is sure to include problems of ecology. All that is to promote better education, upbringing of every young person.

The academy's structure is being discussed. They are disunited now, as a rule, inefficient, with a poor material base. Wouldn't it be more reasonable to form major science-and-practice centres? This is one more topic for discussion. Preference amid forms of work on applied problems is unanimously given to provisional scientific bodies to be formed on a competition basis.

Economic

New Economic Conditions Boost Enterprise Growth

PM0809105188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov report under rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Accumulation of Forces"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has prepared an information report on the growth rates of labor productivity and output volume (work, services) at associations and enterprises which have transferred to full economic accountability and self-financing. It notes that enterprises working under the new system have achieved considerably higher results than others.

A critical approach to the assessment of our work and a detailed analysis of the "sore" points in our economy are now perfectly natural, logical phenomena. How can we possibly progress if we do not draw attention to the potholes on which the economic reform is coming unstuck? We are right to say that the end result is important. Only the end result can serve as a true criterion of the validity of our plans and the usefulness of our efforts.

However, at present the end result can satisfy no one. There is still enormous strain in the population's supply of goods. And the shelves in our stores are not exactly groaning with an abundance of quality noncomestibles. The waiting line for housing is shortening very, very slowly. And we often come up against difficulties in our economic practice that we had not expected, not foreseen.

However.... It would certainly be wrong to ignore the positive trends now clearly apparent in our economy. Or to ignore the far-reaching processes allowing us to look to the future with optimism.

Already in the first half of this year we have secured the plan targets in terms of many of the basic indicators. The volume of industrial output has increased by 4.7 percent in comparison to the same period last year (the plan had calculated an increase of 4.2 percent). Contract discipline has improved: Delivery commitments have been met by 99.3 percent (the figure for the first half of last year was 98.1 percent).

Analyzing the situation in the economy, you cannot fail to notice the sharply increased role of intensive growth factors. It is indeed true that all growth in the national income, industrial and agricultural output, and the volume of work in the construction and transport spheres is now being achieved by increasing labor productivity while ensuring a net reduction in the number of people employed in the material production sphere. In the first half of this year alone, the number of working people employed in state enterprises in the main production spheres was reduced by 1 million. It goes without saying that they have not been left out of work but have been transferred to other sectors. For example, in the services sphere the number of people employed increased by 600,000 in the first 6 months of this year.

Major structural changes are also being made in our economy. For the first time in many years the production of consumer goods in industry has begun to outstrip the output of means of production.

It is well known that the system of economic accountability and self-financing is still largely conditional. Why? The introduction of this system has outstripped the implementation of other very important aspects of the economic reform. The development of wholesale trade is lagging behind. There has still been no reform of the price-setting system.

But even under these harsh conditions and with such limited possibilities, the new economic management methods have fully proved their advantages. It is clear from the statistical report that enterprises which have transferred to full economic accountability and self-financing increased their output volume by 4.7 percent in the first half of the year. Enterprises working under the old system achieved an increase of 4.5 percent. The skeptical reader will possibly say: Well, if you think about it, that's only a difference of 0.2 percent.... Let us not forget, however, that every 0.1 percent represents output worth many millions of rubles.

The labor productivity indicators show an even greater contrast. Whereas enterprises which have transferred to economic accountability achieved a growth of 6.4 percent, others only achieved 4.2 percent.

Another characteristic feature of contemporary economic life is the transfer of workers in production sectors to the new wage conditions. This process has gathered pace considerably this year. By May one in two workers had been set new, higher wage rates and salaries. The total number of workers in this position had reached 37,027 (or 51.5 percent of the total number of workers transferred to the new wage conditions).

We are all paying special attention to the development of cooperative and individual forms of labor activity. They are gradually becoming increasingly important sectors of the socialist economy.

By 1 July this year we had 32,561 cooperatives. The number of people employed in them had reached 458,700. And the volume of products (services) sold since the beginning of the year is impressive: R1,037,300,000.

So how are these cooperatives distributed in terms of activity? Consumer services: 12,835 cooperatives, 179,800 members. Public catering: 5,060 and 40,000 respectively. Consumer goods production: 7,340 and 120,100 respectively. Procurement and processing of secondary raw materials (under territorial organs of the USSR Gossnab): 1,686 and 22,500 respectively. Other types of cooperatives (trade and purchasing, trade, transport, and so forth): 5,640 and 96,300 respectively.

The sphere of individual labor activity has also broadened considerably recently. A total of 512,100 people are already engaged in this kind of activity....

And how many other new forms of economic work are now appearing! The lease contract. Joint enterprises. There is no end to the list....

The above figures are evidence that far-reaching, qualitative changes are taking place in our economy. And just as quantity is developing into quality, so too quality will ensure quantity sooner or later. And we will attain that high end result in the name of which all these transformations are being made in the economy.

Agricultural

Lease Collectives Encounter Local Hostility

PM0809124388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Report by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA staffer A. Shakirov: "Blinded by Envy. Under Cover of Night the Equipment of People Working Under the Lease System Has Been Damaged"]

[Text] People at the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz are alarmed. They are debating and conjecturing... Here is what happened: Recently, during the night, all the soil cultivation equipment belonging to the R. Saygafarov and R. Yusupov lease links was put out of action—tires on seeders and cultivators were slashed, and hoses on trolleys were damaged.

It is not yet known who did this; an investigtion is under way. However, one thing is obvious—it is no accident that it was the equipment of people working under the lease system which was damaged. They have become the target of someone's vile and senseless anger.

It must be mentioned here that the establishment of lease collectives at the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz took place as part of a measure carried out throughout Gafuriyskiy Rayon, where new and progressive forms of labor organization are being introduced only slowly and with difficulty. At the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz it was M. Rakhmatulin, kolkhoz chairman and 19th All-Union CPSU Conference delegate, who literally "fell for" the lease system. An economist by profession, he is convinced that the lease system is the only way to achieve an economic revival of the kolkhoz. Four lease collectives have been set up at the kolkhoz—two to grow grain, one feed procurement collective, and one collective to run the hog unit. As an incentive to the people working under the lease system, the kolkhoz management has decided to advance them R200 a month. Normally, no more than R150 per month are advanced in the kolkhoz on average.

Could it be that some people have taken offense, that they regard themselves as unfairly treated and cheated out of their money?

But, after all, the people operating under the lease contract are also working as if to stand and stare cost money. They are not working "from nine to five" but from dawn to dusk. Even now it is obvious that they will earn much more than their advances. The yields on their fields are much higher. For instance, twice the kolkhoz average yield of barley per hectare has been harvested from their fields. The people working under the lease system are providing the kolkhoz with more than half the

required amount of feeds (that much is obvious already). And the leased hog unit is supplying hogs weighing 100-140 kg—which is unprecedented here...

Naturally, these people's diligence and zeal is a thorn in the flesh of certain people who have gotten used to working in a slovenly way, working so much and no more, and doing only what they are told to do. For these people the work of those working under the lease system is like a silent reproach. And at the same time also a warning that the times when it was possible to draw hard cash for doing nothing are over.

The current view is that the main opponents of the lease system are bureaucrats and administrators who have gotten used to issuing orders. However, the lease system is not only sounding the death knell to the command system of management, it is also striking a sweeping blow at the deep-rooted system of mindless execution of orders which was impianted over many decades and at indifference and laziness. The lease system, I would like to repeat, is a direct challenge to those who are quite happy to lead an idle life.

In short, there are people in our villages who have little reason to like the lease system and the people who are working under it; there are people for whom it is more convenient and less trouble to remain day laborers. I talked to many of them at the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz. There were also many who, when the conversation turned to the lease system, immediately clammed up, clearly intimating that they wanted to have nothing to do with this, that if the lease contract workers are working let them work as much as they want, let them work for themselves, and the rest of us will work as before, as we are told...

I talked to one of the victims, lease link leader R. Saygafarov.

"How do I feel about the fact that our equipment has been put out of action? It is very simple, really. We will not be intimidated by this."

Kolkhoz Chairman M. Rakhmatulin:

"I returned from the 19th party conference completely confident that we are on the right road. We have more than 3,000 hectares of plowland, and only 180 able-bodied people in our kolkhoz. I will put it this way: If I could find 15 working families prepared to work under the lease system, I would hand over all the kolkhoz land to them without hesitation. However, I also know that the process of giving the land back to its proper masters is not an easy one. What has happened in our kolkhoz is yet another confirmation that a struggle is under way. Incidentally, I interpret this scandalous incident as a sign of success of the lease system and as desperate, reckless resistance on the part of the day laborers."

Late August Weather, Crop Status Reviewed

PM0809135188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Sep 88 p 1

[Agrometeorologist T. Ivashneva report: "The Weather and the Crops"]

[Text] Warm, dry weather predominated over most of the European USSR. On some days the maximum air temperature reached 26-34 degrees with night temperatures of 10-17 degrees.

The conditions for agricultural work connected with the harvest, soil preparation, and the sowing of winter grain crops were favorable for most of the 10-day period [not further specified]. In the Baltic republics, the Northwest Region, the northwestern half of the Central Region, Arkhangelsk Oblast, and most of the Komi ASSR 4-6 days of rain, the waterlogging of the top layer of soil, and the rise in humidity made it difficult to complete the harvesting of grain crops, the lifting of potatoes, and the procurement of feed.

Over most of the Northern, Northwest, Volga-Vyatka, Ural, Central, and Central-Chernozem Regions the winter grain crops are in the seedling and third leaf phases. Winter crops sown before 15 August have begun tillering. Their condition is mainly good.

Corn for grain has been observed in the waxy stage of ripeness in most of the European USSR while in some southern regions of the Ukraine and the North Caucasus it has reached complete ripeness. Plants are developing at a rate 1-2 weeks ahead of the perennial average. The wilting of potato haulms has been noted in the fields.

The weather was cool in the Transcaucasian republics. The mean air temperature was 1-3 degrees below the perennial average. Light frosts were recorded in mountain regions. Precipitation fell over most of Armenia and Azerbaijan and in Georgia. In Azerbaijan the cool weather and rain delayed the formation and opening of cotton bolls.

Early spring grain crops have ripened fully in arable-farming regions of West Siberia and northern oblasts of Kazakhstan. The harvest has been taking place mainly in warm, dry weather in Tyumen and Omsk Oblasts, in most of Novosibirsk Oblast, in the Altay Kray, and in North Kazakhstan. In northeastern Novosibirsk Oblast and in Tomsk and Kemerovo Oblasts the spring crop harvest was made difficult by rain, which fell for 4-6 days.

It was warm in the first half of the 10-day period in the arable regions of East Siberia. By day the air temperature rose to 26-31 degrees. In the second half it fell to 1-6 degrees.

In the cotton growing regions and in southern Kazakhstan the dry weather promoted boll opening on a massive scale and helped the cotton to ripen. On 31 August there

were 7-14 fully formed bolls per bush on average and in Ashkhabad Oblast the figure was 17, or 0.3-1.2 bolls above the perennial average. The harvesting of cotton by hand is continuing in southern regions of Turkmenistan and has begun in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

Light frosts were recorded in the high altitude pastures of Kirghizia and Tajikistan in the middle of the 10-day period. In places the rain turned into snow. The temporary snow cover reached a depth of 2-12 cm. This made the pasturing of sheep difficult for 3-5 days.

Early September Harvesting Figures Noted
PM0809124588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR State Committee for Statistics Report"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In the European part of the country the harvest is coming to an end. But in the east it is at its height. By 5 September 88.7 million hectares or 81 percent of grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been harvested across the country. Siberia is one of the largest grain producing regions in the east. There are about 15 million hectares of grain there. At the beginning of the week almost half of the grain had been harvested. Work is slower than a year ago. Irkutsk, Tomsk, and Kemerovo Oblasts are particularly late.

The mass sowing of winter crops has begun in the country. Farms in Ryazan, Saratov, and Orenburg Oblasts, the Mari and Chuvash ASSR's, and many other regions have finished. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are continuing to procure feed and to harvest potatoes, vegetables, and flax.

Kurgan Oblast Grain Harvest 'Not Great'
PM0809135388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent Yu. Shpakov report under the rubric "Harvest-88": "Three Plus Two"]

[Excerpts] Kurgan Oblast—This year has proved difficult for Kurgan Oblast farmers. A cruel drought burned the crops. Just 10.3 quintals of grain has been obtained per hectare. But it takes great skill and selfless efforts to gather in even this modest harvest. [passage omitted]

[Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee Chairman A. Ustyuzhanin] The harvesting of grain crops was practically complete in the first week of September—more than 1 month earlier than last year. Approximately 1.8 million tonnes of grain has been delivered to the threshing floors and grain reception centers. The results are not great, and there has been a particularly large shortfall in forage. But the situation will be rectified somewhat by a good harvest of corn, which is cultivated using grain techniques on the majority of farms. Of course, the good weather helped to reduce harvesting times, but the decisive role belongs to people and equipment. This fall 14,000 combines were working in the oblast's fields, 5,000 of them for their first season. We intend to continue developing the experience accumulated in making efficient use of machinery.

Scientific

USSR To Join International Nuclear Power Body
PM1209091000 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[G. Alimov report: "Nuclear Power Stations: Safety Under International Control"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a proposal for our country to participate in the new world Association of Organizations Operating Nuclear Power Stations. The proposal on the expediency of joining the association was submitted to the government by the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry.

The idea of setting up this organization came from the physicist Marshall, member of the House of Lords and chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board of Great Britain. After Chernobyl, the world came to the conclusion that nuclear power does not respect borders, and we can only make it safer together. That is why the producers of nuclear power have decided to pool their efforts on a worldwide scale. Some 130 organizations and companies from 26 countries have already declared their desire to join the association.

This step, in the opinion of specialists, will have far-reaching consequences. The pooling of many countries' efforts will undoubtedly make it possible to direct the nuclear power industry onto a path of more reliable development. It is no accident that the association's draft charter begins with the words: "Mankind will only be able to exploit the advantages of nuclear power if AES safety standards are maintained at the highest possible level."

"This aim has been declared to be fundamental," A. Abagyan, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for AES Operation, says. "By joining the association we, like all the participants, will be taking on substantial commitments. Our country will exchange experience in the operation of AES's and information on their work. It is not only a question of routine situations, but also breakdowns and accidents. The association's member countries will compare, select, and introduce various practical measures to improve technical systems and equipment and share their achievements in diagnosing and repairing AES systems and experience in training nuclear power station personnel. It is very important that specialists directly engaged in nuclear power generation will be in professional contact with each other. The association will be their business club, so to speak."

[Alimov] Were some people opposed to our country's joining the association?

[Abagyan] Yes, at first we were not in unity. Some people thought we had no place in the association. They were probably frightened by the fact that we have to share information, including information on breakdowns or defects. Those who believed that everything must be discussed openly prevailed. When such information is not available, the conjectures begin. They can, as you know, be of various kinds, but usually they do not correspond to reality.

[Alimov] Have you already begun to exchange information?

[Abagyan] Our institute has now been granted the right to supply this data directly. It was not easy to reach that decision. In the past months were spent on obtaining agreement.

[Alimov] How will the association look organizationally?

[Abagyan] It will consist of four regional centers. A center will open in Atlanta (United States) for the countries of North and South America. The West European countries will be served by the Paris center. The third center will be in Moscow, based at our institute, and will be responsible for Eastern Europe. For the Asian countries, a regional center is to be set up in Tokyo. It is planned to link all the centers to a single computer system. Each will have the right of access to the others' data banks. An accord has also been reached on the exchange of technical visits. A group of experts from one station will have the right to visit any other station without hindrance....

Professor A. Abagyan believes that all this taken together constitutes a tremendous step forward in cooperation among organizations and companies operating AES's. It is proposed to convene the association's founding conference in Moscow at the beginning of next year.

Military

Defense Officials Mark Tank Troops Day

Officers Attend Ceremony

PM1209104188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "In Honor of Tank Troops Day"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the Moscow public and servicemen from the capital's garrison devoted to Tank Troops Day was held at the M.V. Frunze Soviet Army Central House on 9 September.

The meeting presidium comprised Army Generals Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, M.I. Sorokin, and D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense ministers; Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Colonel General K.A. Kochetov, commander of the Moscow Military District [Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 11 September, in its Second Edition on page 4 carries the following "Correction" to this report: "A mistake with regard to the military rank of Army General K.A. Kochetov was carried by certain issues of the 10 September 1988 KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in the report on the ceremonial meeting devoted to Tank Troops Day. The editorial bureau staffer who made the mistake has been punished."]; generals, admirals, tank troop veterans, and tank builders; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations and labor collectives.

The meeting was opened by Lieutenant General A.A. Galkin, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Main Armored Directorate. Hero of Socialist Labor V.I. Dyuzhev, steelworker at the "Serp i Molot" metallurgical plant; S.V. Loktionov, secretary of Perovskiy Komsomol Raykom; and A.M. Rychkov, representative of the Ministry of the Defense Industry, sent greetings to the tankers.

The meeting was addressed by Army Gen Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister.

Ivanovskiy Address

LD1109215288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1245 GMT 11 Sep 88

[Address by Army General Yevgeniy Filippovich Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Ground Forces, USSR deputy minister of defense, and Hero of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of Tank Troops Day—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! The men of our armed forces and the entire Soviet country are today celebrating Tank Troops Day, for the 42d time. The motherland is honoring the courageous tank troops, manual and clerical workers, engineers and designers, and tank builders for their military services and achievements in creating and developing Soviet technology. Allow me, on behalf of the Ministry of Defense, the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and the Military Council of Ground Forces, to ardently and cordially greet all tank crew servicemen, ranks and sergeants, warrant officers, officers and generals, all tank force veterans, all tank builders, and all of you, esteemed television viewers, on the traditional holiday of Tank Troops Day.

Tank troop servicemen are proud of the fact that Soviet people have regarded this branch of the forces with love and concern throughout its entire history. From the very first incredibly difficult 5-year periods, Soviet people handed over contributions to build tanks; while in the

years of the Great Patriotic War they joined in the patriotic movement to collect funds to create not only armored vehicles but also entire tank columns.

The Soviet tank troops arose in the years of the civil war and have covered a heroic path of development. Their emergence is inseparably linked with the activity of the Communist Party and with the name of great Lenin. The foundations of Soviet tank building were laid on the instructions of the leader of the revolution. The first tank, named for freedom fighter Comrade Lenin, was created on 31 August 1920. Thus began our tank troops. They have traversed the path from the motorized armored detachments in the civil war period to the big tank formations in the Great Patriotic War. Soviet tank troops demonstrated combat power and courage as early as during the civil war and the foreign intervention, in the battles on the East China Railway, Lake Khasan, the Halhyn-sol River, and on the Korean isthmus.

During the years of the Great Patriotic War, tank troop servicemen covered themselves with unfading glory. The strength and might of tank strikes grew with every operation. The tank troops matured and acquired rich combat experience, and their prowess grew, in fierce battles against the German fascist occupiers. This prowess was demonstrated particularly strongly in the course of the Stalingrad and Kursk battles, and in the Korsun-Shevchenkovskiy, Belorussian, and Vistula-order operations, and in the battles for Berlin and Prague.

The tank troops distinguished themselves, too, during the rout of the Japanese Kwantung Army, achieving the legendary assault across the almost inaccessible Great Hsingan Ridge and the Gobi desert.

In the battles of the Great Patriotic War, which were unprecedented in scale and stubbornness, the remarkable moral, political, and combat qualities of Soviet tank crewmen were demonstrated, their loyalty to the motherland and to the cause of the party and people. A total of 250,000 tank crewmen were awarded orders and medals for courage and military prowess displayed on the war fronts, 104 became full holders of the Order of Glory, and over 1,000 were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union; 16 of these were awarded this honor twice.

Hundreds of tank and mechanized units and formations were awarded orders and many were given honorary designations and turned into guards units.

Soviet tank builders made a great contribution toward achieving victory over the enemy. It is with gratitude that Soviet people speak the names of talented tank designers Mikhail Ilich Koshin, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Morozov, Zhoszef Yakovich Kotin, Nikolay Leonidovich Dukhov, and pay tribute of great respect to the engineers and technicians, skilled workers and manual workers who created first class armored tank technology

In the exceptionally difficult conditions of wartime, our rear supplied the front with everything necessary for victory. During the years of the war, the Soviet Union produced twice as much weaponry and materiel as did Hitlerite Germany, for which the industry of the Europe it had enslaved worked. As symbols of combat glory and the labor heroism of Soviet people and of tank crews and tank builders, as a reminder of the incomparable courage of those fiery years, in our country and abroad hundreds of memorial tanks stand on pedestals, calling us to vigilance, development of sacred traditions, and readiness to multiply them.

Comrades, through the measures taken by our party, it has been possible to somewhat diminish the military threat in the world. But there is no total relaxation of tension. Imperialism has not repudiated the policy of military force. Plans are being worked out in NATO for compensation, for upgrading the bloc's armaments; they are calculating on achieving superiority over us by means of an asymmetrical—but essentially unilateral—reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. We are, of course, obliged to take account of all this in our defense construction. The effectiveness of this must, in accordance with the directives of the 19th party conference, be ensured primarily by qualitative parameters, both in relation to technology and military science and in relation to the personnel of the armed forces. These, as you understand, are to guarantee the reliable security of the Soviet state and of its allies, and to be implemented strictly in accordance with our defensive doctrine.

We are striving to raise the fulfillment of the tasks confronting us to a qualitatively new level, to instill into servicemen a thrifty attitude toward everything that the people provide, to enhance the technical skill of servicemen, and to develop the knowledge of how to use equipment skillfully and to apply it effectively in any conditions or circumstances.

Thanks to the daily solicitude of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, the continually increasing potential of the socialist economy, the great achievements of science and technology, and the selfless toil of Soviet people, the tank troops have advanced far in their development. There has been an immeasurable increase in the proportion of the ground forces which they form. There have been increases in armored protection, maneuverability, power, effectiveness of armaments, and improvements in other combat qualities.

Modern tanks have excellent armament, reliable protection against various means of attack, and high maneuverability and speed. High-precision observation and control instruments make it possible to drive the tanks in all conditions and to hit targets with certainty while on the move both by day and by night.

The composition of the tank troops includes motorized rifle, rocket, and artillery subunits and units, and subunits of air defense, engineering, and special forces. This makes it possible for the formations and units to make fuller use of their combat potential and gives our tank formations tactical and operational self-reliance.

However, the main strength of course consists of our tank troops. As you know, within the tank troops the crew of the combat vehicle is the primary service collective, where the foundations of high combat readiness of units and formations are formed. We therefore attach paramount importance to training and development of team work among the crews and subunits as a whole, although it needs to be stated forthrightly that service in the tank troops and their military tasks are difficult, as indeed is the case in other branches of the forces.

There has been an immeasurable increase in the significance of the human, moral, political, and psychological aspects. The best qualities of the Soviet tankman are formed in the course of the entire training and educational process and all army service, including purposeful party political work. We show constant concern for the ideological tempering of servicemen, the enhancement of their consciousness and political maturity, and instilling in them a sense of responsibility for the country's security and the reliable defense of the peaceful work of Soviet people and the great gains of socialism.

We are strict and demanding in our appraisal of what has been achieved, and we are firmly establishing a style of work which provides for increased quality in the tasks being tackled and the personal responsibility of each serviceman for the sphere he has been allotted, and we encourage a creative search and innovative approaches to questions concerning the training and education of personnel. As the party demands, those servicemen who show their honest and conscientious attitude toward their service duty—not in words but in deeds—are being encouraged and elevated in every way.

The initiators of socialist competition among ground troops—the tank troops of the three-times honored regiment commanded by Colonel Yuriy Pakhomov—are carrying out their service worthily. The commander has been able to weld the servicemen into a united combat family and to promote the regiment among the frontrankers. There are good reports of the tank troops of the Proskurov-and-Berlin Order of Lenin, Red Banner and Order of Kutuzov guards tank regiment named after Grigoriy Ivanovich Kotovskiy, which is renowned for its fighting for the homeland. The masters of accurate fire and tactical maneuvering include officers Viktor Pankratov, Leonid Boyko, Aleksandr Baymaratov, Valikhan Umarov, Petr Starostin, and many others. In every formation and every tank unit heroes of our times, those with excellent ratings in training, high-class specialists, and genuine masters of military work are living and serving. They are united by their constant concentration, high discipline, and personal responsibility for the reliable defense of our beloved homeland. Surely the exploits of the servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the Republic of Afghanistan, who have been honorably fulfilling their patriotic duty in giving internationalist aid to the friendly Afghan people, are akin to those of the frontline!

As in the war years, Soviet tank troops are now turning their best thoughts and feelings to the Leninist party. We believe in the success of the foreign policy strategy being pursued by our party. But until Soviet peace initiatives receive the proper support from the imperialist states, the consciousness of Soviet servicemen is wholly and fully concentrated on further strengthening the defensive power of the homeland and on enhancing the vigilance and combat readiness of units and subunits. We are taught this by the experience of World War II, and this is demanded by the decisions of the 27th party congress.

Thank you for your attention.

Yazov 'Order of Day'

PM1209134188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Minister of Defense Order of the Day No 302 for Tank Troops Day, dated 11 September 1988, Moscow]

[Text] Comrade tank troops, veterans of the tank troops, tank builders, and defense industry workers!

Today the Soviet people and its Armed Forces servicemen are celebrating Tank Troops Day. This holiday is being celebrated in an atmosphere of high political and labor activeness by Soviet people and Army and Navy servicemen and their desire to implement the Leninist line of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the historic decisions of the 27th party congress. The results of the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum clearly demonstrate that our country has entered a new stage of restructuring. The decisions on programs which they adopted help to deepen the process of restructuring and democratization in the Armed Forces.

The party's principled guidelines toward primarily qualitative indicators in solving tasks of further increasing our motherland's defense might demand new approaches to the work of ensuring the reliable security of the Soviet state and its allies.

Thanks to the constant concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, tank troops today are equipped with modern weaponry and hardware. They possess highly skilled military cadres who are dedicated to the party and the people.

Soviet tank troops, in a single combat formation with all USSR Armed Forces servicemen, reliably protect socialism's historic gains and the Soviet people's creative labor. In fulfilling the party's demands for the qualitative improvement of the armed forces, tank personnel see their task as making confident use of modern weaponry and complex combat hardware, increasing the combat readiness of divisions and units, and strengthening military discipline and organization. They are ever ready to deliver a crushing rebuff to any aggressor and to honorably fulfill their patriotic and internationalist duty.

Tank builders and repairers, who have actively joined in the work of restructuring and the accelerated implementation of the country's socioeconomic development, are focusing their efforts on ensuring the prompt introduction into production of modern achievements of science, technology, and engineering, increasing output quality and labor productivity, and further improving economic indicators.

Under the conditions of the complex and contradictory international situation, in which the military danger from imperialism persists and there is no guarantee of the irreversibility of the positive processes taking place in the world, tank troops as part of the USSR Armed Forces use their selfless military labor to support the Army and the Navy at a level that precludes the imperialist forces' military superiority.

I greet you and congratulate you on Tank Troops Day!

I wish the personnel and veterans of the tank troops and defense industry workers new success in their service and work and the military-patriotic education of young people.

To mark Tank Troops Day I order:

That festive firework displays be held today, 11 September, at 2200 hours local time, in the hero city of Moscow, capital of our motherland, in the capitals of the union republics, in the hero cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, Murmansk, and in the hero fortress of Brest.

I express the confidence that tank troop personnel will continue to constantly improve their combat readiness and skill, strengthen military discipline, and honorably fulfill their duty in the defense of the socialist fatherland.

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister